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1693  
M87

COINS OF THE —  
— ✠ GRAND MASTERS  
—  
ORDER OF MALTA







Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



PLATE I.

# COINS

OF THE

## Grand Masters of the Order of Malta;

Or Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.

WITH A CHAPTER ON THE MONEY OF THE CRUSADERS.

BY

ROBERT MORRIS, LL. D.

AND AN INTRODUCTION, HERALDIC AND HISTORIC NOTES,

BY

W. T. R. MARVIN.



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TO  
ABRAHAM H. HOWLAND, JR.

P. E. C. OF SUTTON COMMANDERY, K. T.

**Grand Master**

OF THE MOST WORSHIPFUL GRAND LODGE OF MASONS IN MASSACHUSETTS,

THIS VOLUME IS FRATERNALLY INSCRIBED

BY

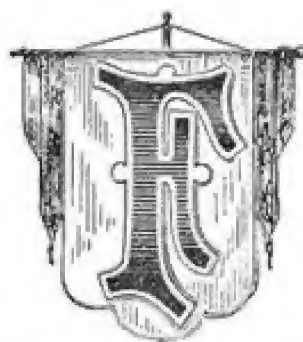
W. T. R. MARVIN.







## PREFATORY NOTE.



FROM the interest which seems to have been awakened in the **coins** struck by the Grand Master of that valiant and chivalric Order, known at different periods under the various names of Knights Hospitallers, Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Knights of Rhodes and of Malta, by the articles on the subject which have appeared during the last two years in the pages of the *American Journal of Numismatics*, from the facile pen of Dr. Robert Morris, well known for his contributions to numismatic literature, and particularly to those branches interesting to the Masonic Knights Templar, I have been induced to reprint a limited edition in this form, as more accessible to the general reader, and as more convenient for preservation by those who may have no special interest in the other contents of that magazine.

It is not intended to discuss in any way the connection between the Medieval Order, and that which is claimed by many to be its modern successor; that belongs much more appropriately to Masonic Literature. This little volume will fulfill its mission if it serves to increase the love of numismatics, and the study of **coins**, whether among Masonic Knights Templar, or those whose tastes lead them away from secret societies of all kinds. It makes no pretension to be an exhaustive or even a very complete treatise on the subject to which it is devoted, but rather to give a single specimen—rarely more than one—from the coinage of these various rulers of a Knightly Order, extending through the centuries from the time when the pieces were first struck, until their existence as a ruling power was terminated by Napoleon.



So many of them bear heraldic devices that brief descriptions of these have been supplied, and as the terms employed are by no means familiar to more than a limited circle of readers, I have thought it not out of place to add simple explanations of these terms, so that the general appearance, in color as well as in device, of the armorial bearings might be easily perceived.

The very brief historical sketch which precedes the body of the work, is based on the valuable work called "The Book of the Orders of Knighthood," by Sir Bernard Burke, and on a volume by Saint Allais, entitled "L'Ordre de Malte, ses Grands Maitres et ses Chevaliers." Paris, 1839. This gentleman, who was "Directeur-propriétaire" of the genealogical and heraldic archives of the Order, seems to have had unusual opportunities for accuracy, and while his little book is insignificant in size as compared with the ponderous quartos of the Abbé Vertot, who was himself a member of the Order, and whom I have frequently mentioned in notes on the following pages, yet I am inclined to place more reliance on his heraldic descriptions especially, than on those of Vertot. Beside these, any who may be interested in the study of the Order will find abundant material within easy reach, and it seems unnecessary to mention the authorities in this direction.

For further light as to the coinage generally, reference may be had to De Saulcy, Langlois, Friedlander, Cousinery, and others, who have been occasionally cited. The body of the work, as has already been said, was written by Dr. Morris; for the notes, heraldic, etc., and the historic sketch, I alone am responsible. For assistance on doubtful points I am greatly indebted to Mr. William S. Appleton and Mr. Sereno D. Nickerson, to whom my thanks are due for their kindness. But, prepared as these notes necessarily were, with some haste, amid the pressure of business cares, and often while the text was in the hands of the compositor for publication in the *Journal*, I cannot hope that an occasional error will not be found. With this word of explanation I leave the work to the kind consideration of its readers.

W. T. R. MARVIN.







## HISTORICAL SKETCH.




AMONG the various chivalric Orders of the Middle Ages, that of the Hospitallers of St. John, in later times styled Knights of Malta, from the Island which was for the closing centuries of their existence the principal seat of their power and the residence of their Grand Master, has excited the widest interest of any; and the tales of their valor, and their beneficence, their devotion and their endurance, have stirred the heart as no other stories of the pilgrim warriors of the Crusades, or the conflicts with the Infidels have ever done. It was the oldest of the knightly brotherhoods, half religious and half military, evoked in those days of enthusiasm, and with the exception of the Teutonic Order, the last one to yield to the changing times. A glance at the history of the other two leading Orders, the Templars and the Teutonic Knights, may be of interest in this connection, although not strictly within the scope of this paper, as their origin was similar to that of the Hospitallers, and there were many points of resemblance between them all.

The Order of the Templars was founded in 1118 or 1119, and its rules confirmed by Honorius II, in 1228; the red cross was assigned to it in 1146 by Eugenius III; its destruction was concerted by Philip IV, (the Fair,) and Pope Clement V, and its suppression decreed by the fifteenth General Council, held at Vienna in 1311, under the summons of that Pope. The following year its lands in England, France, and other countries were transferred to the Hospitallers, and to this period may be traced the substantial union of the two Orders, who had emulated each other's valor in the early crusades, and during the occupation of the Holy Land by the forces of Christendom, had occasionally been bitter rivals for power.

(vii)



The hospitals for the pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre, established by the Templars and the Knights of St. John, were devoted almost exclusively to the comfort of French and Italians. A pious German, whose name is unknown, early in the century had founded one for the pilgrims of his native country; this was consecrated by the Patriarch, and soon became an important asylum, both for "pilgrim penitents traveling from afar," as well as for the warriors from the "Fatherland." To give this institution a firmer basis, the Teutonic Order was organized in 1190 by Frederick, Duke of Suabia; it was confirmed by Celestine II, and invested with the same privileges as the Templars and Hospitallers by a bull of that Pope in 1192. In 1237 the Order of Christ was incorporated with them, and the following year the title of Grand Master was assumed by the head of the united bodies. They were driven from Acre by the Templars in 1241, but served with Louis IX of France, (St. Louis) in the Seventh Crusade, until the ten years' peace. After the fall of Acre, they transferred the seat of their power to Venice, about 1291, and eighteen years later to Marienburg. For the century and a half that followed, their wars were mostly waged with the Poles. After holding control of Prussia for about two hundred and fifty years, the Order seems from 1561 and onward, to have maintained an uneventful, or little more than a nominal existence, though it was virtually abolished by the Peace of Cracow in 1525, and its Grand Master invested with its landed property, which was made a fief of Poland. In 1805 the Emperor of Austria acquired the rights and revenues of the Grand Mastership. The Order was finally extinguished by Napoleon in April, 1809, so far as the Rhenish provinces were concerned. Some years later a portion of its property was returned, and an Austrian Imperial decree revived it as an independent spiritual and knightly Order. The cross is nearly *patee* in form  but the perpendicular bar is slightly longer than the horizontal one. Their rules and laws when founded, concerning the sick and the poor, were taken from those of the Order of the Hospitallers, and it was at first called the "Order of the German House of the Holy Virgin at Jerusalem;" its badge was a black cross with white mountings, worn upon a white mantle or cloak, and these colors are still retained in the cross, decoration and mantle worn by its modern successor.

The origin of the Order of the Hospitallers is assigned by some to the time of the first Crusade, somewhere about 1092, though its first "Master" is generally considered to be Gerard Tunc, whose term is set down as from 1113 to 1121. Other historians have traced its birth to a company of merchants from Amalfi, who founded near the Holy Sepulchre, as early as 1048, a Benedictine cloister, consecrated to the Virgin, with a Chapel in honor of St. John the Baptist, who thus became the patron



Saint of the Order. The Chapel is often said to have been dedicated to St. John the Almoner. This saint is occasionally called John the Eleemosynary. By some he is thought to have been the son of the King of Cyprus, and born in 550; he was Patriarch of Alexandria from 606 to 616, in the latter of which years he died in Cyprus, and was afterwards canonized. That St. John the Baptist was the true Patron Saint of the Order is so abundantly proved by their *coins*, by their monumental inscriptions, by their Church in Valetta, which was dedicated to his honor, and by many other facts, it is unnecessary to enlarge on this point. In addition to this cloister and Chapel was a hospital for pilgrims, the management of which was intrusted to the monks. The property as originally constituted, was probably based on a gift, and the hospital established by the consent of Abu Temin Bonesor, Caliph of Egypt, and Governor of Syria.\*

When Godfrey of Bouillon conquered Jerusalem, he released Gerard, who had been thrown into irons by the Caliph on the approach of the Crusaders, in the fear that he might assist the Christian forces; and as some compensation for his sufferings that prince endowed the Hospitallers with lands and money; the monks who had previously been in charge of the asylum were relieved from that duty, which thenceforth devolved upon the Knights of the Order. The members took upon themselves the vows of obedience, chastity and poverty, and divided themselves into three classes:—Knights, who protected the pilgrims and waged war with the infidels; Priests, to whom were intrusted the spiritual affairs of the Order; and Serving Brothers, who were employed in the care and nursing of the sick in time of peace, and who fought in the ranks in time of war. At a subsequent time a fourth class was added, called Donatists, who performed subordinate menial duties and labors. The first class was composed only of those noble by birth and arms—descendants of ancient families who could prove their right to eight quarterings in their shield. The three classes united in the choice of Grand Master, and composed the assemblies of the Langues at Malta, and the Provincial Chapters of the various Grand Priors.

There were certain ecclesiastical dignitaries who bore very close relations to the Order. When the Emperor Charles V endowed them in 1530 with certain privileges, he reserved to himself and his successors, as they were Kings of Sicily, the right of naming the Bishop of Malta from among three priests who should be nominated by the Order, and one of whom must be a native of Sicily. This privilege does not seem to have long been retained. Gargallo, who had been an intimate friend of Grand Master Cassiere, was elevated to the see by Gregory XIII, and officiated with great

\* Seddall fixes this date as 1085. Burke gives the year as 1048, which I have followed in the text, but there is great uncertainty as to the exact time when they began their existence.



pomp at the opening of the Church of St. John in Valetta, February 20, 1578. But he soon quarrelled with the Grand Master, and while by virtue of his office holding the second place of honor in the Order,\* not only this prelate but many of his successors were on terms with the military superiors of the Hospitallers, by no means in accordance with the apostolic injunction to live in love and charity with all.† The Prior of this Church of St. John, which was the Parish Church of the Order,‡ in which he officiated "pontifically," as well as in all the Churches served by Chaplains of the Hospital, ranked as a prelate, and even had a certain precedence over the Bishop in those Churches. Both the Bishop and the Prior held the honor of "Grand Cross of the Order," and frequently became Cardinals in consequence of this relation. The Pope was recognized as the head of the Order, which by some of its own historians is often called "the Religion."

\* While the Pope was the spiritual head and the last appeal of the Order, the Grand Master was its executive and military head. The Bishop of Malta and the Prior of St. John followed him in precedence; then came the Grand Commander, the Marshal, the Hospitaller, the Admiral, etc.

† One instance of this is sufficient for the purpose of showing these differences and their occasion, and we copy it from Seddall's History. Several of the Cardinals, coveting the vast estates which the Order of St. John possessed in Italy, had persuaded several successive Popes that the appointment to the office in the Order, of Grand Prior of Rome of right belonged to them; and as each appointment to the office was made, the Grand Masters had quietly acquiesced in it, and had apparently never dreamed of resistance to the Papal authority. But La Vallette's attachment to his Order was greater than his reverence for the Supreme Pontiff. He wrote to Pope Pius V in very decided terms on his right to appoint the Grand Prior. After the raising of the siege, he received from the Pope several Briefs full of pompous declarations of his esteem, and expressions of the deep sense he entertained of his services. La Vallette answered that he desired no other proof of the Pope's esteem than that he should be permitted to appoint one of his own friends to the Grand Priory of Rome whenever it became vacant. Pius V assured him in reply, that he would not interfere with his rights. And yet, when Cardinal Salviati, the Grand Prior, died shortly after, the Pope at once appointed his own nephew, Cardinal Alexandrino, to the office, and exempted him from the payment of the usual fees into the treasury of the Order.

Vertot says that "the Grand Master was sensibly concerned at this breach of promise, especially in a Pope who was still holier by the purity of his morals and his eminent piety than by his dignity;" and doubtless La Vallette might have been excused for expecting

that the Chief Pastor of the Church, as he claimed to be, would keep a solemn promise. Smarting under the indignity to which he was subjected, he wrote to the Pope in very warm language.

Chevalier de Cambian was despatched to Rome as La Vallette's Ambassador; but the Ambassador was as incautious in his language as the letter of which he was the bearer was unguarded in its terms, and the temper of the Pontiff was so ruffled that he would listen to nothing. Cambian returned to Malta, announced the failure of his undertaking, and left the Grand Master in a fit of melancholy from which he never recovered.

La Vallette was the brave defender of Malta, in 1565, against an overwhelming force of the Turks, and his end was doubtless hastened by this unfortunate quarrel.

‡ The Church of St. John, in Valletta, is often if not always spoken of as the "Cathedral," though not properly so called. It was consecrated, says Badger, in his "Descriptions of Malta and Gozo," by D. Ludovico Torres, Archbishop of Monreal. It is full of interesting monuments to the Knights and Grand Masters, of which Badger gives several engravings; the Chapels of the different Langues form the aisles, and many of them are richly adorned with monuments, pictures and carvings, about their walls and altars. It was built by La Cassiere. The Cathedral of the Bishop of Malta is in the old city, "Città Vecchia," or La Notabile; it stands on the spot which according to tradition was occupied by the house of Publius, the Governor of the Island when St. Paul was shipwrecked. In this edifice the *Te Deum* was sung and a solemn high mass was celebrated when a new Grand Master was installed, and here also the Bishops of Malta were consecrated. It was here that Bishop Gargallo defied the power of the Inquisitor General, in the time of Grand Master Verdalle, in 1582, but was severely punished for his contumacy by the Pope on complaint of the Congregation of the Holy Office.

Aside from these chief pastors were many others, holding positions of greater or less importance, the most prominent being the Grand Prior of Rome, and after him the other Grand Priors, the Bailiffs, and several grades below, the religious and military elements being strangely intermingled. There was also a sisterhood of Lady Canonesses of the Order, said to have been established by Agnes, or Alice, a Roman lady, who founded a Hospital dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, in the city of Jerusalem, about the same time or a little after the institution of the Hospital of St. John. Its objects were similar, and it undertook the care of such poor and sick women as had suffered on their pilgrimage. Its Asylum was modeled upon Gerard's, and the Sisters adopted the obedience of St. Augustine and the statutes of the Order of St. John. The Patriarch of Jerusalem received their vows in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. They wore a dress similar in character to the Knights—a black woolen robe with the cross of the Order in white on their breast or over the heart. Driven from Palestine when the forces of the Christians were at last expelled by the Turks, they continued their noble work in various countries of Europe, particularly in England, where they maintained their existence till the reign of Henry VIII, and in Spain, where they were cordially welcomed by Queen Sanche, the daughter of Alphonso II of Arragon. Clement III established their privileges in a bull. They had Convents or religious houses in various places, the government of which was in the hands of Prioresses who possessed high authority and great influence. There was also a Convent of Ursuline nuns of the Order of St. John on the Island of Malta, which is still in existence.

The government of the Order was singular in its character. While nominally submissive to Papal authority, there were frequent occasions when the differences between the Knights and the Pope, more especially as to the privilege of appointing or of choosing the Grand Master, could with difficulty be restrained from breaking out into open rupture. The Grand Master exercised great powers; indeed, in time of war, these were almost dictatorial, and in peace they were as nearly sovereign as those of many of the princes of Europe. He had peculiar privileges in the Papal Court; by a Brief of Clement VII, in 1524, he occupied the first place on the right of his throne; it was his privilege also, in person or by his Ambassador, with the Knights of the Order, on the election of a new Pope, to guard the Conclave, and when the Pope was introduced, to precede him, as if his special champion, armed at all points, mounted on a splendid charger, and bearing displayed the grand standard of the Order. Several of the Grand Masters were presented with the scarlet cap of a Cardinal.

As showing the close relations which existed between the Roman Church and the Order of the Hospitallers, it may be mentioned that for many years it was the cus-



tom of the Pope to present at Christmas a sword called "l'estoc," and a helmet, which had each received the Papal benediction, to various Catholic princes of Christendom, and both these gifts were alike sent to the Grand Master of Malta. The "estoc" was a sword of silver, gilt, about five feet in length, and the casque or helmet was of purple velvet, embroidered in gold, and adorned with a dove, the emblem of the Holy Spirit, formed of pearls. When the Turks were forced to raise the siege of Malta, in 1565, the Emperor Charles V presented the Grand Master with a sword and dagger of gold, enriched with gems. Every year afterwards, in commemorating the victory, there was a solemn procession on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, which was the day on which the siege had been abandoned. The Grand Master placed himself at the head, with a Knight bearing the standard of the Order on his right, and a page of noble blood upon his left, carrying this sword unsheathed, and followed by all the Knights in their peculiar dress. Moving to the Church, a high mass was celebrated, with all the pomp of the Roman ritual. When the Holy Gospel for the day was read, he took this weapon from the hand of the page and held it upright until the end of the Gospel. This was the only occasion when a naked sword was carried into Church, and the Grand Master alone possessed the right to do so.\*

He usually wore his hair and beard long, thus differing from the custom required to be observed by the strictly monastic orders. His dress was a cassock or robe of black cloth, confined by a girdle, from which was suspended a purse, as a symbol of charity to the poor; over this cassock he wore a mantle or robe of black velvet, which fell to his feet, with large sleeves, and open in front; on his breast and on the left shoulder, was the grand cross of the Order, in white linen, having eight points, said to be emblematic of the eight beatitudes. He also wore a round cap or "tocque" of peculiar form, made of black silk or velvet, having six puffs or tufts of black and white silk, hanging on each side.

In later times the Grand Masters wore a mantle of black silk, on which was embroidered in white and blue silk the fifteen mysteries of the Passion,† entwined with representations of paniers or baskets, symbolizing charity. This was fastened with cords of black and white silk. To this was occasionally added a sort of scarf, on which similar emblems were embroidered in gold. He bore a baton which was decorated with small Maltese crosses. There were many interesting customs which were followed

\* This anniversary, which occurs on the 8th of September, is recognized even to this day, which is now kept as a popular festival and celebrated with various amusements,—boat races, and some other interesting sports peculiar to the locality—but the sword and the

procession have disappeared with the Grand Masters.

† These are what is known as the Rosary, in the Roman Church, and represent "the glories, the sorrows and the joys" of the Saviour in the Garden of Gethsemane, on the night of His betrayal.

when his death was near, and in the conduct of the ceremonies attending the choice of his successor, but these we cannot linger to describe.

The membership of the Order was divided into eight Langues, or languages.\* In the early days of the Hospitallers, the "grand dignities" were bestowed on those most capable of filling them, in the judgment of the General Chapters. After some centuries had elapsed, these offices were attached to the different Langues, the "Piliers" or chiefs of which had the right of appointment, or to hold themselves, if they preferred as they usually did, the office pertaining to each. The result of this division, while it may have promoted a certain emulation in time of war, was yet productive of jealousies and quarrels in peace. Indeed, the Langue of Germany, being largely composed of Protestants after the Reformation, was for a long period virtually separated from the other branches of the Order, not being really united with it again until about a half century previous to its extinction. Its Grand Priors were made Princes of the Holy Roman Empire by the Emperor Charles the Fifth, having a vote in certain of its assemblies, where they held seats as ecclesiastical princes. A somewhat similar right was possessed by the Grand Prior of London, who held a seat in Parliament as the first baron of England. When the Religious Orders were suppressed by Henry VIII, the English Langue became extinct, though its name was preserved in the assemblies at Malta, the oldest Knight of the Order being honored with the privilege of representing, with the two next him in point of age and membership, the Langue of England and its "Pilier." The original number of these Langues was three—Provence, Auvergne and France; the next to be formed were Italy, Arragon, England, and Germany. In time that of Castile was added, and the Anglo-Bavarian took the place of England.

The Order received various accessions from other similar bodies which united themselves with it at different periods. In 1308 its power was increased by its union with the Order of "St. Samson of Jerusalem;" the absorption of the Templars has been already mentioned. In 1485 the Orders of the "Sacred Tomb," and of "St. Lazarus" having been abrogated, the Knights of St. John were strengthened and much enriched by a grant of the Pope, who bestowed upon them the possessions of these bodies.

As has been said above, the Order was formed of three classes; these existed in each Langue, and they united in composing the assemblies at Malta, and the Provincial Chapters of the Grand Priorities. The Knights or warriors of the Hospitallers were themselves divided into several classes unnecessary to specify more particularly. They were forbidden to marry, except after withdrawal from the Order, and ceasing to wear

\* A list of these with the office each was entitled to fill is given on page 31, and need not be further explained.



the cross; in rare cases the privilege of continuing to wear it was granted by the Grand Master. The oldest Cavalier had the right to attend the "ordinary" council, and with the two next in seniority, of sitting in the "complete" council. These councils formed the executive power of the Order, and the latter retained the control of certain functions in its own hands, such as making regulations concerning public health, striking money and some others. The members of the Order, composed as it was of the *noblesse* of all Christian States, were jealous of their rights, and delegated no more power to their Grand Master than was necessary to enable him to govern. He was thus regarded as the first among his equals rather than as a monarch. Whatever powers they might grant him over their persons, he had no power to hold a Knight under arrest more than twenty-four hours without trial. Their pledge of obedience which seemed so absolute and obligatory, had its modifications, and any Knight who deemed that a command was contrary to the ancient statutes and customs, had a right to refuse obedience, and to appeal to the tribunal called "*egard*," and to persist in his course until their decision was pronounced. The Pope had the important prerogative of giving his sanction to the convocations of the General Chapters, of annulling them, of approving the Statutes of the Order, and of having an Inquisitor on the Island, with certain powers of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and of watching the execution of the Bulls and Briefs of the Holy See.

Thus it appears that while on the one hand the authority of the Grand Master was held under restraint, yet on the other he alone had power to summon the General Chapter, and the Councils could deliberate only upon matters suggested by him, or in his absence by his Lieutenant.

The legislative power was vested exclusively in the General Chapters, and to them belonged to levy taxes. They assembled once in five years, or in case of urgency, as often as once in three years, in the earlier days of the Order, but less frequently in its later times. When they had come together, the standard of the "Religion" was removed from the palace of the Grand Master, and floated as of right from the place of their assembly.

From what has been said, therefore, it will be seen that the Order of St. John was as Saint Allais remarks, *Hospitallers*, as founding and maintaining hospitals open to the sick of every country and in need of aid, without regard to sect: *Religious*, since its members assumed the triple vow of chastity, obedience, and poverty; *Military*, in that two of its classes were constantly prepared to war against the Infidel and protect Christians; *Monarchical*, having at its head a chief who held his position for life, and invested with sovereign rights over the people of Malta and its dependencies, and

*Aristocratic*, since each Knight partook of legislative and executive power, equally with the Grand Master, the three classes of the Order choosing their chiefs from among themselves, who conjointly with the Grand Master, in the General Chapters had the power of making and executing laws : the latter fact has led some historians to regard the Order as Republican in its form of government.

The history of this valiant and chivalric Order is brilliant with tales of valor ; not alone were their laurels of victory gathered in the Holy Land, where Jerusalem and Ascalon, Balbais and Hattin, and last of all St. Jean d'Acre, are monuments of their early glories ; but when forced from their last stronghold on the sacred soil of Palestine, they conquered the Isle of Rhodes, which they held for nearly two centuries and a half against the most strenuous efforts of the Saracens to drive them from it, losing it finally in 1522, when the brave L'Isle Adam was overcome through the treachery of the Chancellor of the Order ; the treason was discovered, and the traitor's head was falling by the headsman's axe just as the Infidels were entering the weak point in his defences. Even then such had been the gallantry of their stubborn defence, and so completely had Solyman and the victorious Turks been disheartened at the length and difficulties of the siege, that the brave Knights were allowed honorable terms of surrender and a free retreat from their ruined city. Again, in Malta they showed themselves worthy inheritors of the ancient glory, as under Vallette they defended their strongholds of St. Elmo and St. Angelo, in one of the most remarkable sieges of history. In his "Fortress of Malta," Col. Porter has the following graceful tribute to the Order of St. John :—

"The heroic spirits who conducted the defence of Malta, through all its difficulties and all its dangers, to so glorious a conclusion, have long since returned to that dust from which they sprang ; the names even of but too many of them have been lost to the world ; still, the memory of their great deeds remains as fresh and as green as though it were a thing of yesterday ; and the name of Malta is never mentioned, even in this present age, without calling up a picture of the scenes enacted there during the summer of 1565.

"The banner of St. John no longer floats over the ramparts of the island ; the fraternity itself is, if not utterly annihilated, at all events reduced to little more than a nonentity ; still, there are none amongst those who now occupy their place who would refuse to yield their just tribute of admiration and applause at the heroism and endurance which had successfully sustained such mighty and protracted efforts, and had protected the home of their adoption from the polluting presence of the infidel invaders."



The victories of the Order at sea, and on the shores of their enemies, were hardly less brilliant and glorious than those upon the land ; in 1321, their Vicar General, Gerard de Pins, destroyed the Moslem fleet in a hard fought combat ; twenty years later their galleys wrested Smyrna from the Saracens, but lost it again to Timour after a stubborn resistance ; in 1347 the fleet of the Egyptian pirates was destroyed in the harbor of Alexandria, and the town conquered ; at Tripoli and Lajazzo, at Candia and Lepanto, and in many less renowned sea fights with the Turks and Algerines, the pirates and the corsairs of the Mediterranean, for nearly five centuries the cross of the Religion was hardly less triumphant than that of St. George, burning on "the meteor flag of England" in later days. But the existence of the Knights of St. John, as an independent power, virtually ceased with Hompesch. In a modified form, it is still found as an Order of Knighthood in Austria, Russia, Prussia, Spain and Italy ; and its cross is highly esteemed, but its political importance is ended.

"The Knights are dust ;  
Their swords are rust ;  
Their souls are with the saints we trust."





# COINS OF THE GRAND MASTERS

OF THE

## ORDER OF MALTA,

Or Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.

AS SOON as the Order of "Knights Hospitallers," or "Knights of St. John of Jerusalem," became a sovereign power, it began to strike coins. This occurred A. D. 1309, when these soldiers of the cross took possession of the Island of Rhodes in the Aegean Sea, and set up a political government of their own. While they remained at Jerusalem, up to A. D. 1187, at Acre to 1291, and at the Island of Cyprus to 1309, they had no attributes of sovereignty and were not suffered to emit money. The *Templar Knights* never possessed the attributes of sovereignty and therefore never struck coins, neither did the *Teutonic Knights*; and if any metallic pieces are found containing Templar or Teutonic emblems, they must be reckoned as *medals* not coins. It is important that the reader should bear this in mind. A medal it is lawful for any one to make, but a coin is an emblem of sovereignty, which to make, brought down in the olden times the penalty of death. Louis XII. of France, used to *boil* the unlawful coiners in oil; the King



of Persia put to death one of his Governors of Egypt for striking coins without authority. Instances of this sort are common in history.

And yet to make coins in those early days, was so simple a process that it is a wonder the line could be drawn between honesty and falsehood. A Government Mint, especially a Provincial Mint, eighteen hundred years ago, was scarcely as big a concern as a good blacksmith shop is at the present day. It only needed a "moneyer" or overseer,—a secretary,—a furnace with crucibles,—a pair of scales,—a few hundred pounds' weight of copper,—a "beater" to beat the metal into plates,—a "clipper" with shears to cut out the blanks or planchets,—a "coiner" to stamp the blanks, and one "assistant" to lay them upon the die fixed in an anvil. This group of six men could make five thousand coins or more, per diem, provided the dies were furnished them. Now, when we see that in Syria alone there were fifty Provincial Mints of this class, and that Syria was reckoned to be but the sixteenth part of the Roman Empire, we learn how simple a thing was an ancient Mint.

When the "Knights Hospitallers" or "Knights of St. John of Jerusalem" moved to Cyprus, in 1291, they assumed the name of "Knights of Cyprus;" and when eighteen years later, they went to Rhodes, they again changed it to "Knights of Rhodes," which title they bore until their loss of that island, December, 1522. Then they went successively to Candia, to Italy, and finally, July 18, 1529, they settled in Malta, and assumed the name which they bore until their dissolution in 1798, "the Knights of Malta."

The first piece of which we give an engraving, is a coin of the money struck by Foulques de Villaret, who was the Twenty-fourth\* Grand-Master of the Order, and the series will terminate with one of Hompesch, the 69th, and last. As De Villaret was installed in 1307, it will be observed that the series comprehends *five centuries* of a chivalrous era, that for true valor and self-devotion, has no parallel.

Ancient coins are regarded by sensible readers as leaflets of history. No matter how debased, degraded or abraded (if at all legible), they are full

\* Some historians consider him to be the Twenty-fifth Grand Master, including in the list Arnold de Comps, (whose position others deny, or doubt,) for the period A. D. 1161-67.



charged with the most reliable facts. For many years, it has been my very pleasant duty to handle and inspect the moneys of the ancients from those of Assyria, B. C. 900, to those of Byzantium, in the 15th century after Christ, including *coins* of Persian, Greek, Egyptian, Syrian, Roman and Jewish mintage; but few have come to my hand altogether so suggestive of instructive thought as these of the Grand-Masters of Christian Knighthood.

I. FOULQUES DE VILLARET. A. D. 1307-1319.

No sooner did the Knights of St. John take possession of Rhodes, in the year 1309, than a considerable commerce sprung up with the European ports, which necessitated a coinage of money. "This Rhodes," said the Grand-Master, "was famous in ancient ages, and shall again become famous, and opulent, and in every way a desirable residence. There we shall be our own masters, and have our own good swords to protect us." So it proved for two hundred and fourteen years. The island had once been Genoese, and was now nominally Greek, but in reality it belonged to Saracen pirates, a bold, fierce and most lawless race. The money necessary for an expedition to take possession of it, was chiefly raised by a subscription of ladies, particularly those of Genoa, who sold their jewels for that purpose. Much secrecy was observed in this enterprise, that the Turks might not know whither they were bound. The fleet sailed from Limisso, in Cyprus, as if intending to attack the towns on the Syrian coast. They landed first on the coast of Asia Minor. Here De Villaret announced to his followers his place of destination. They took Rhodes, with the smaller islands near by, A. D. 1309, without a struggle, but a four years' war followed that tried their spirit to the utmost; when this was ended they settled down, as before remarked, and held the island for more than two hundred years. It was during this Grand-Mastership that the Knights Templars were destroyed.

De Villaret, whose coinage is before us, was installed in 1307, but deposed for cruelty and tyranny in 1319. The coin is silver, of the character styled by the French *gros d'argent*, or "great silver piece." Let us examine it with some care. The face or *obverse* exhibits the Grand-Master himself,



kneeling with folded hands in front of the patriarchal cross *crossed*. The cross afterwards termed Maltese, is embroidered on his left arm. His feet are bare, in token of humility. We have no letters which match exactly the Teutonic lettering of the coin, but will substitute the nearest modern form we have been able to obtain. It reads FR · FVLCHO · D · VILLERTO · DI · GRA · ✚ and on the field behind him IRL. Expanding the abbreviations this would be "*Fratri Fulcho De Villerto Dei Gratia Ierosolymae*." The three letters around the cross are Α Ω Alpha et Omega, "the beginning and the end."\*

The *reverse* has a large cross in the centre, and the legends, which are in two concentric circles surrounding it, terminate with small crosses, placed at the top above it. The lettering is MRO · HOPITALI · QVET SCI · IOHIS · ✚ in the outer circle, and IBERIL · RODI ✚ or "*Magistro Hospitalis Conventus Sancti Johannis Hierosolimitani Rodi*." Translating the two sides together, we have this English sentence: "Brother Foulques de Villaret by the Grace of God, of Jerusalem, Master of the Hospital of the Convent of St. John of Jerusalem at Rhodes." Figure 1.

## II. HELION DE VILLENEUVE. A. D. 1319-1346.

This coin is of silver. The figure on the obverse resembles that of I. The rudeness of the workmanship is not greater than that of other *coins* of the period. The face is heavily bearded. The letters Alpha and Omega are absent, and the cross stands upon three steps, as was common in the Byzantine *coins* of that period, whose devices were as strongly Christian. The inscription on the obverse is FR. ELION. D'. VILANOVA. DI. GRA. MR. ✚, that is, resolved, "*Frater Elion De Villanova Dei Gratia Magister*." The reverse has .OSPITA'. S'. IOHIS IRLNI QT' .RODI ✚, that is, "*Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Hierosolimitani Conventus Rodi*;" or in English, "Brother Helion De Ville-

\* As on most of the *coins* of the Grand Masters to be described, their arms are displayed, it seems proper to give also the bearings of those old heroes which do not appear on their *coins*, but which were doubtless well known to "the infidel." Many of them have allusions impossible now to trace: others have charges showing the antiquity of "*arma parlantes*," or "canting arms," as modern heralds term them, and to these attention

will be called occasionally as we proceed. Foulques de Villaret bore the same arms with his brother Guillaume, who immediately preceded him, namely, or, three mountain peaks gules, each surmounted by a crow sable; the field being gold (or yellow), the mountains red, and the crows black. As French was the language of chivalry and most of the Grand Masters were of France, we have followed the French form of the names.



neuve, by the Grace of God, Master of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, Convent (or Priory) of Rhodes." The device on the field of the reverse is a Greek cross, with floriated arms, the central ornament at the end of each arm being a small shield or oval, also inscribed with a cross. It will be observed that some of the letters on these coins are combined to form a kind of monogram. The current name of this piece was *gigliato*.\* Figure 2.

Grand-Master De Villeneuve was delayed a long time in Europe by ill health, even till 1332, before proceeding to Rhodes, and while there held a general chapter of the Knights at Marseilles. In his Grand-Mastership the Order was divided into seven *langues* (languages or provinces), which afterwards expanded into eight. It was reported that at this time there was not a poor man in all the Island of Rhodes. The curious fable of Sir Deodatus (French, Dieu-donné) and the Dragon, is placed in this Grand-Mastership.

### III. DIEU-DONNÉ DE GOZON. A. D. 1346-1353.

Our next engraving shows a gold coin, styled a *sequin*. It corresponds in size with the Venetian gold of that period, worth, by weight, about \$2.30 of our money. Upon the obverse we see a group well executed, St. John presenting a banner with the Passion Cross to the Grand Master, who kneels with bare feet, his hands grasping the staff. An Oriental robe, bare feet, the halo of divinity, and a venerable beard, mark the saint up to whom the Grand Master, an old man, bald and beardless, is looking with reverential aspect. Upon the reverse we see an angel with expanded wings, seated upon an open

\* The arms of De Villeneuve differ slightly as given by Saint Allais from those in Vertot's work. Although the Abbe Vertot, who was himself a Knight of the Order, wrote more than a century before Saint Allais, and in his elaborate work—four thick quarto volumes—gives portraits of all or nearly all the Grand Masters to his time, I am inclined to regard Saint Allais as the better authority from reasons unnecessary to give here, but which will be apparent to any one who compares the two. The title of Vertot's book is *Histoire des Chevaliers Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jerusalem, appelez depuis Les Chevaliers de Rhodes, et aujourd'hui Les Chevaliers de Malte*: par M. l'Abbe de Vertot, de l'Academie des Belles Lettres. A Paris, 1726, avec approbation et privilege du Roy. Plâtes. 4°. 4 vols. Saint Allais gives brief historic sketches of each Grand Mas-

ter, with plates at the end, showing their arms, and the title of his work is *L'Ordre de Malte, ses Grand Maitres et ses Chevaliers*, par M. de Saint-Allais, Chevalier de l'Ordre Royal de la Legion d'Honneur, etc., Directeur Proprietaire des Archives Genealogiques et Heraldiques de l'Ordre de Saint-Jean-de Jerusalem (Malte). Paris, 1839. Small 8vo., pp. 362 and 4 plates. The device of Villeneuve was gules, fretty of lances or, an inescutcheon of gold in each space (claire-voie): on the fess point an inescutcheon azure charged with a fleur de lis or. That is, on a red field a number of lances interlaced diamond wise, with small shields between them in each vacant space, each of gold: on the centre, or the "heart" of the shield as the French style it, a small escutcheon of blue on which is a fleur de lis of gold.



sarcophagus, as recorded in St. John xx: 12, "Angels in white, sitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain." Or in Mark xvi: 5, "They saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long white garment." The epigraph of the same is *F. DEODAT* on the right of the figures, and *SI OSES B* on the left; these latter are arranged nearly perpendicularly to each other; on the right of the staff from which the banner floats will be seen *MGR* similarly arranged:\* these abbreviations, when complete, signify *Frater Deodatus Sancti-Johannis Baptistae Magister*. On the reverse is the legend *HOSPITAL QVENT: RODI* † for *Hospitalis Conventi Rodi*, that is, "Brother Dieu-donné, Master of the Priory of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist at Rhodes." The heavenly visitant appearing on the reverse displays a cross upon a staff; the head is surrounded by a nimbus, the wings are spread as if prepared for flight, the countenance is benignant and attractive. Who can doubt but that in the days when all Christians believed in the occasional appearance of saints and angels, that many a Sir Knight, sore bestead by warrings, vigils and hunger, looked hopefully upon the figure that illustrates this coin and was comforted thereby. This Grand Master, De Gozon, gained a naval victory over the Turks, capturing one hundred and twenty of their vessels. He died of apoplexy, Dec. 1355. The Order at this period was in very great esteem. Figure 3.

#### IV. RAYMOND DE BÉRENGER. A. D. 1365-1374.

This next is a silver coin, and larger than the others. The reader will observe that there is an interval between Grand Master De Gozon and the present. This was filled by Pierre De Corneillan, A. D. 1354-1355 and Roger De Pins,† but I have no coins of either. During the Grand Mastership of the latter, the citadel at Smyrna was lost to the Order. Grand Master De

\* His armorial bearings, either quartered with the arms or otherwise, do not appear on any coins so far as we have learned; they were gules, a bend argent bordered azure, a bordure crenellee argent: the device would be represented by a diagonal stripe of silver, or white, having a blue edge, the whole upon a field of red, which is surrounded by a border of white, its inner edge cut to resemble battlements.

† Corneillan bore gules on a bend argent three martlets sable: that is, on a red field, a silver diagonal stripe charged with three small birds resembling swallows, but without beaks or feet. De Pins carried a shield gules, three pine cones or, one over two: gules meaning red, and or, yellow, no further explanation is necessary. The latter is one of the very earliest allusive coats. De Pins died May 28, 1365.



Bérenger, whose coin is before us, took Alexandria in Egypt from the Saracens, and burnt the piratical fleet harboring there. Figure 4.

Upon the obverse is the Grand Master, as in preceding specimens, kneeling before the patriarchal cross, which is mounted upon three steps. Behind him is a shield bearing the charge heraldically known as a "bend."\* The legend is R · RAIMVNDVS · BERENGARI · D · G · : M ✠ in full, *Frater Raimundus Berengarii, Dei Gratia Magister*. The reverse bears "the flowery" or "flowered" cross, like that on No. II. Out of each of the four equal points of this cross rises also the same oval or shield containing a small Greek cross.† The legend also is substantially the same as that of the reverse of II.—OSPITAL · S · ION · IRLNI · QTS · RODI · ✠ explained above. The two legends unitedly read as follows: "Brother Raymond de Bérenger, by the grace of God, Master of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, Priory at Rhodes." During this Grand Mastership the fortifications of the Island of Rhodes were greatly strengthened, in view of a threatened invasion from Constantinople.

#### V. ANTOINE FLUVIAN. A. D. 1421-1437.

This is a *sequin* (gold) as III. Between the Grand Mastership of De Bérenger, which terminated A. D. 1374, and the installation of Antoine Fluvian, A. D. 1421, forty-seven years had intervened, during which there were five Grand Masters,—Robert de Julliac,‡ 1374 to 1377; H. C. d'Emporta, 1377 to 1383; Richard Caraccioli, 1383 to 1396; Philibert De Naillac, 1396 to 1421, but of these I have no specimens. Figure 5.

The obverse of the coin before us is much like that of III, except that in place of MGR ranged perpendicularly down the staff, the word DVX (*i. e.* leader,

\* Why this is inserted I am unable to determine, as these do not appear to be his family arms, which, as given by St. Allais, were gules, a saltire coupé or: that is, a Saint André's cross of gold on a red shield. Vertot depicts them as gyronny of eight, gules and argent, that is, with eight right angled triangles, their apexes in the centre of the shield, alternately red and white.

† The "Greek cross," so called, is the simplest and probably the oldest form of the cross used in heraldry. It forms the first and fourth quarters of every Grand Master's official arms, and though we do not specially

mention it in describing them, it should be so understood.

‡ De Julliac bore argent, a cross botonée—French, fleuronné, (differing from the cross fleury in the terminations of the arms, which have three round balls, while those of the cross fleury end with fleurs de lis gules;) a label of four points azure; that is, a cross as described, of red on a white field, and at the top of the shield a blue label of four points; the "label" cannot be described better than by referring the reader to Webster's Unabridged, illustrated edition, where an engraving of this charge is given.



signifying the same office) is used.\* The legend of the obverse is F. ANTONIVS. on the right, and ·S·M·VENE· on the left, the last arranged perpendicularly. This legend, which some numismatists would translate *Frater Antonius* and *Sanctus Marcus Veneti* or Saint Mark of Venice, (of which city he was the patron Saint,) together with the fact that the robe of the kneeling Grand Master is so different from the others, being highly ornate, has led some to consider this a Venetian coin and call the kneeling figure the Doge of Venice.

On the reverse is the figure of the Saviour standing full face to front, as in all Byzantine coins of this class. His head has a cruciform halo, and his right hand is held up shoulder high, with three fingers presented, in the manner adopted by the Roman Pontiff when bestowing the Papal benediction upon his people, and alludes to the Trinity. His robe is gathered up and held in his left hand, which also contains a copy of the Holy Scriptures. The face is that of an elderly man heavily bearded. He stands within the oval figure called *vesica piscis*, with nine stars nearly surrounding Him, four on His right, five on His left. The epigraph on the reverse reads, SIT. T. XPE. DATVS Q TV: REBIS ISTE ·DV·CAT that is, in full, "*Sit tibi, Christe, datus, quia tu regis, iste ducatus,*" or in English, "Let this ducat be given to Thee, O Christ, because Thou dost rule." Figure 5.

\* The word DVX was the Latin epithet of the Doge—from which indeed the title appears to be derived; and there were Doges who bore the name of Anthony. The style of the figure, the letter F before ANTONIVS, the cross in the banner, with some other points, have led the author to his assignment of the piece. If it belongs to the Doge, the explanation of the letter F remains to be given. The first Doge Antonio was A. Vernieri, 1382-1400; the next, A. Grimani, 1521-3; and the next, Marco Antonio Trevisano, 1553. We remember no others. There was also a religious Order, "Hospitalarii Sancti Antonii," or Hospitallers of Saint Anthony, founded by Gaston in the Viennois, 1095, authorized by Boniface VIII in 1297, and finally united with the Order of Malta by Pius VI. If not a coin of Fluvian's, can it belong to this last named Order, which seems to have had some points in common with the Hospitallers? The reverse of a coin of one of the later Grand Masters bears a strong resemblance to the reverse of this piece, as will be noticed hereafter.

The arms of Fluvian are another early example of *canting* heraldry, being or, a fess undec gules—on a red

shield a wavy horizontal stripe of red, thus alluding to his name, which is from the Latin *fluvius*, a river. This as given by Saint Allais; Vertot gives a plain fess, and this difference seems to add to the weight to be attached to the former's authority. We omit reference to the intervening Grand Masters, concerning whom historians are not so fully agreed. The schism in the Roman Church between the Popes Urban VI and Clement VII, each of whom claimed to be by virtue of his office not only the head of the Church but of the Order as well, is the cause of this disagreement. Saint Allais names Jean Fernandes de Heredin as Naillac's predecessor, and omits all reference to Emposta. Caraccioli was appointed by Urban, who deposed Heredin, because the latter favored Clement. Naillac's arms were azure, two lions passant gardant or—on a field of blue two lions (lion leopards the French called them, if more than one appears on the shield, for a lion, they said, could not bear a rival, and early English heralds called them lioncels or lion's whelps); passant gardant signifies they are moving slowly across the field with their heads turned to the observer.



This Grand Master, Fluvian, donated to the Order two hundred thousand gold crowns, to erect an Infirmary at Rhodes. Long were the knights proud of his benefaction. At this period the Order was at the height of its wealth and worldly prosperity. They numbered about one thousand men, and the Grand Master was admittedly the most powerful Christian sovereign in the Levant. Equally ready to strive for the Order on sea or on sod, the Fraternity was now in the fifth century of its existence; while the Templars had been destroyed a hundred years before, the Teutonic knights had become an effete institution, and Rhodes, a little island in the eastern Mediterranean, shone as the bulwark of Christendom against the Moslem.

Following Grand Master Fluvian, came Jean De Lastic,\* of whom I have no specimens, but his part in the government of Rhodes was so important, that I must give him a place in this comment. During his Grand Mastership a hostile fleet came against Rhodes in great force, September, 1440, bringing sixteen fire-ships; yet they were easily repelled by the knights, who from their insular position had even more skill on sea than on land. Cannon in large numbers were used in this contest. The King of England wrote the Doge of Venice at this time "to treat the Knights of St. John well, because, without them, all Europe was in danger from the Turks." De Lastic is the first Master to whom the title "Grand" was given. It was during the latter years of this Grand Mastership that the event occurred which shook the Christian world, namely, the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1452. De Lastic issued a circular letter July 20, 1453, to his knights through all their Priories in Europe, to hasten to head quarters, for he plainly foresaw the tremendous struggle that awaited the Order itself, the only barrier remaining in the eastern Mediterranean against the formidable power of the Moslems.

#### VI. PIERRE D'AUBUSSON. A. D. 1476-1503.

Twenty-nine years have passed since the mintage of Grand Master Fluvian's coins ceased at his death. Four Grand Masters have been installed and done their work, of whom I have no coins, namely, De Lastic, named

\* Le Lastic's arms were gules a fess argent—a silver horizontal band on a red field.



above, 1437 to 1454; Jacques De Milly,\* 1454 to 1461; Pierre Raymond Zacosta, 1461 to 1467; and Jean Baptiste De Ursins (or Orsini), 1467 to 1476. But now we have a coin of Pierre D'Aubusson.

His large piece is styled *medaille d'argent*, or a silver crown. Upon the obverse it has the shield of the Grand Master surmounted by a Cardinal's hat, for D'Aubusson held that rank, which was bestowed upon him by the Pope, May 9, 1488. In the first and fourth quarterings are Greek crosses, and in the second and third the early form of the Maltese cross.† The legend is *F PE D AUBUSSON GARDE MAG RHODI* ☩ that is, *Frater Petrus D'Aubusson, Grandis Magister Rhodi*,‡ which is sufficiently plain to our readers without translation. On the reverse is a full length figure, well executed, of St. John the Baptist, the patron of the Order. His head is encircled by a nimbus, his left hand sustains the crosier, a lamb (haloed) in his left arm, and his right hand rests upon his bosom. The legend is ☩ *ECCE AGNUS DEI ECQUI TOLLET PECCATA MUNDI* which, enlarged from the abbreviations, is "*Ecce Agnus Dei ecqui tollet peccata mundi*," that is, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." The same motto is repeated upon No. XI. Figure 6.

The crisis of an invasion from Constantinople impending, the election of Pierre D'Aubusson was hailed by the knights with bonfires and rejoicings. On the election day, the sixteen electors came three several times before the Assembly of the Order, and inquired if they would stand by the election; to which they answered in the affirmative. Then the result was announced. In 1478 a Chapter General was held, and D'Aubusson was appointed Dictator during the expected siege. The historian avers that "he acted a noble part,

\* De Milly bore gules a chief argent, indented: that is, a red field the upper third silver, with the dividing line in points, similar to the teeth of a saw. Zacosta's arms were barry undee of seven, or and gules, that is, seven wavy horizontal stripes, alternately gold and red. Des Ursins carried a shield bendy of six, argent and gules, a chief argent charged with a rose gules, boutonée or, and in the lower part a serpent, azure, fesswise; this would appear to the observer as having six diagonal stripes, running from his left to right, and alternately silver (at the upper right corner) and red; the upper third, of silver, is divided from the rest, and has in its centre at the top an heraldic rose of red, on which are small buds or buttons of gold, and below it a snake

of blue crawling to observer's left. The heraldic rose bears little resemblance to the flower, and reminds one more of the architectural rosette.

† His arms were or, a cross moline gules, as shown on the coin, — the cross being red and the field gold.

‡ There are a few letters at the bottom of the piece, somewhat indistinct, from the close resemblance these mediæval forms bear to each other; in our reading of the legend, (which is a photographic copy of the original plate,) the letters in *GRAND* appear to be transposed, and indeed the whole seems a singular blending of the French and Latin titles, which, considering the intelligence of the average workman of the time, is not surprising.



and showed fully as varied talents as almost any one, ancient or modern, and upon a grander scale." May 23, 1480, the Turkish fleet, one hundred and sixty sail, appeared in sight, and landed two days afterwards an uncounted host. Cannon,—it is said to the number of 3,700, and many of enormous calibre,—battered the walls. The siege endured ninety-nine days, but closed by the defeat of the enemy with immense loss. Peace followed, which lasted all the remaining days of the gallant Grand Master D'Aubusson.

## VII. EMERY D'AMBOISE, A. D. 1503–1512.

Upon the death of D'Aubusson the war with the Turks again broke out, the Sultan being then the celebrated Bazajet, followed by his son Selim, a man of extraordinary cruelty even for the times. Under Grand Master Amboise the knights were particularly successful at sea, capturing one ship so large that its mainmast could scarcely be encircled by six men. No quarter was offered or received in these contests.

The silver coin before us has upon the *obverse* the Grand Master's shield blazoned with his coat of arms\* and surrounded by the legend, which, though some letters are indistinct, we read: : F : EMERICVS : DAMBOISE : MAGNO : MAG : R : ☒ [Frater Emericus D'Amboise Magno Magistro† Rodi.] On the *reverse* is the *Agnus Dei*,—The Holy Lamb,—the type of the Saviour—with the halo encircling its head, and bearing a banner‡ displaying the cross of the Order, with the staff surmounted by the same, *pommé*, *i. e.* with pommels; and the legend is the well known supplication from the *Gloria in Excelsis*, perhaps the most ancient hymn of the Church, A GN · DEI · QVI TOLIS PECCA · MVN · MISER · NO ☒ (*Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis.*) The inscriptions

\* These as given by Saint-Allais (second and third quarters) are paly of six or and gules, that is, six perpendicular stripes alternately gold and red. The first and fourth quarters, as the more honorable, show the arms of the Order. Its standard, fixed by a brief of Innocent III in 1150, was red with a white cross, and the arms therefore corresponded, being gules, a cross argent, which is the same device heraldically expressed.

† We are not responsible for the grammar of the die-cutter; the word on the coin seems to be *magno*, which

of course does not agree in *case* with the name, Emericus, and we can hardly consider o to stand for Ordinis in that position.

‡ The lamb and pennon were perhaps selected from the ecclesiastic relation of that symbol to St. John, who was almost invariably represented in medieval art with such a lamb as that on the coin, and the motto ECCE AGNUS DEI, his words to his disciples when pointing them to the Saviour.



translated, read, "Brother Emery D'Amboise, Grand Master of Rhodes.—Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us." Persons animated by the intense devotion of these warriors of the Cross, saw in such affecting devices and words, far more than we in our Protestant soberness can conceive of. Plate II. Figure 1.

#### VIII. GUY DE BLANCHEFORT. A. D. 1513.

This Grand Master was a nephew of Grand Master D'Aubusson, who had so gallantly defended the island of Rhodes thirty-two years before. He had also distinguished himself upon that and other occasions, but he lived only a few months after his election, dying on the 24th of November before reaching the Isle of Rhodes. The *obverse* of this coin has his shield, whose quarterings contain his own device, two lions in the second and third,\* and in the first and fourth the Greek crosses (equal armed crosses) of the Order. The legend of the obverse is *SVI:DE: BLANCHEFORT* • ✠ and that of the reverse, *IN HQC:SIGNO VINCES* • ✠ which surrounds the cross of the Order, on a shield, with a palm branch on either side. The inscriptions translated, read, "Guy de Blanchefort.—By this sign thou shalt conquer." The reader will observe that the letters are nearer square and more easily read than those on the **coins** two hundred years earlier. Plate II. Figure 2.

#### IX. FABRICE DE CARRETTO. A. D. 1513–1521.

The reader, who would pursue enquiries more minutely into the matters here presented, is referred for historic points to Vertot's magnificent quartos, and for a briefer outline to Saint Allais, and also to Langlois, De Saulcy, Friedlander and other numismatic authors. Carretto was elected to succeed De Blanchefort Dec. 15, 1513, having previously been Admiral of the Order.

Here we have a large silver piece which affords amplest room for portrait and lettering. The likeness is doubtless accurate, and we cannot too much

\* Heraldically, or, two lions passant guardant gules. The field is gold, or yellow; the lions or lion leopards as Saint Allais calls them, (see note on De Naillac's arms, page 16,) are red, moving slowly across the field, and turn their faces to the observer.



admire it; we see the redoubtable Carretto, with the cross upon his breast, as he appeared to his indomitable followers. Upon the *reverse* is his shield with its proper bearings.\* The epigraph of the obverse reads in good square letters, F · FABRICIVS · DE · CARRETTO · MAGNVS · M · R † · and the reverse, on a ribbon, or scroll, (which has a small cross between its ends which are turned back) DEO · ET · BEATE · VIRGINI · The abbreviations of the obverse are for *Magister Rodi*, the whole signifying "Brother Fabrice De Carretto, Grand Master of Rhodes,"—"To God and to the Blessed Virgin." Plate II. Figure 3.

Great preparations were made under his Grand Mastership against a threatened attack by the Turks. Ismael, the Shah of Persia at this time, sent an ambassador to Rhodes, to open friendly relations with the Christian power, then administered by one who was styled "a literary and gentle Grand Master," and to form an alliance against Selim, the Turkish Sultan, and their common enemy. Models of the city of Rhodes were made in wood, and sent to all the principal engineers of Europe, asking if they could propose any improvements either in the fortifications or the artillery. It is not improbable that some of those models are yet in existence. A liberal and charitable prince, an experienced captain, a learned man, rising to eminence by merit, he lived respected, and died regretted on the 10th of January, 1521.

#### X. PHILIPPE DE VILLIERS-L'ISLE-ADAM. A. D. 1521-1534.

This coin is a gold sequin like those described under Nos. III and V. Upon the *obverse* we have the head and bust of one of the most redoubtable warriors in history. The face is turned to the left as in other *coins* to show the cross on the left side. In their military capacity, the knights of Rhodes wore red surtouts with the white cross before and behind. It is of the form now known as the Maltese cross of eight points. The badge at the present time is enameled white, edged with gold, suspended by a black ribbon. The

\* These were, as given by Saint Allais, Bendy of right. There are not so many on the coin for lack of twelve pieces, or and gules: that is, twelve diagonal room. stripes alternate gold and red, from observer's left to



French knights add a fleur-de-lis of gold at each angle of the cross. The *reverse* of the coin has the Grand Master's shield charged with his family emblems.\* In the second and third quarters we see a right hand extended, hanging from which is what resembles the maniple, one of the vestments of the Roman Church. Doubtless there is some point of family history here, if we knew it. The inscriptions are, on the obverse, F · PHVS · DE LILE · ADAM · M · HOSPLIS · HIERLM ✠ (*Frater Philippus De l'Isle Adam, Magister Hospitalis Hierosolimitani*), and on the reverse, DA · MIHI · VIRTUTEM · CONTRA · HOSTES · TVOS · ✠. These, when translated, read, "Brother Philip de L'Isle Adam, Master of the [Order of the] Hospital, of Jerusalem.—Give me valor against Thine enemies!" If ever a man needed valor, desperate and sure, it was Grand Master L'Isle Adam! Plate II. Figure 4.

He was in France when his election was announced to him. He hastened to the sea shore, sailed through a piratical fleet that lay in wait, and reached Rhodes in time to make due preparations for the impending storm. Four times a day he visited the ramparts and hastened the hands of the workmen. He ordered the barley harvest gathered in earlier than customary. His knights seconded him at their best, "every one in full armor, with surtout bearing the white cross, ahead, behind, to left, to right." Each took oath in public, touching the cross with his right hand, that "his arms and armor were his own property, not borrowed." Then Grand Master L'Isle-Adam destroyed his own beautiful gardens and country place, and laid the whole island "bare as any wildest wilderness, that so the enemy should find nothing to subsist upon." The Moslem force appeared before the island June 26, 1522, in a fleet of four hundred sail. An army of a quarter million of men landed and began the siege. The garrison numbered but six hundred knights and four

\* Saint Allais gives these arms as or, on a chief azure, a dexter hand argent, vested ermine, with a pendant, (fanon) fringed argent "enamelled" (email): the last word I do not remember to have met in English heraldry, in describing the tincture of a charge. In ordinary phrase the description would be a shield of gold, the upper third of blue, on which is a right hand with a sleeve and pendant of ermine fringed with white. This pendant on Saint Allais's engraving, strongly reminds one of the maniple or sudarium, worn by the Roman priesthood, which is usually an "oblong piece of embroidered

silk of the same color as the chasuble for the day, folded double, passed over the *left* wrist, and hanging down like a miniature stole." That blazoned on these arms hangs from a *right* hand. Whether, in view of their ecclesiastical character, these warrior monks used this vestment on the right arm, as an abbot carried his pastoral staff in his right hand, in distinction from a bishop who bore it in his left, I can only conjecture, as I have been unable to learn whether this was a device which he inherited, or was one which he assumed for himself.

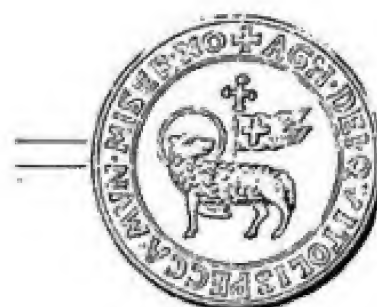
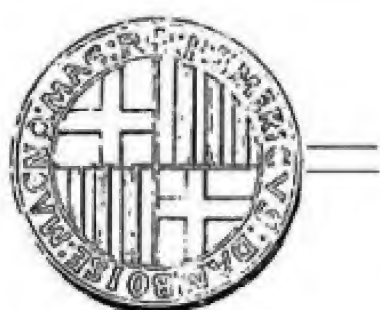


Fig. 1.



Fig. 2



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

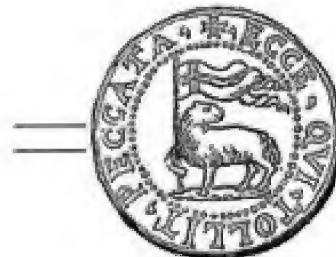


Fig. 5.

PLATE II.



thousand five hundred men at arms. December 20 following, when no powder was left in the city for a single charge, and not a shot to load the guns, the knights surrendered by honorable capitulation, and abandoned the island which they had occupied for two hundred and thirteen years (A. D. 1309 to 1522). The little remnant sailed New Year's day, 1523, for Candia, thence to Italy, and thence to Malta, where they landed July 18, 1529.

It is written of Grand Master L'Isle-Adam, that during this siege of six months, "never once did that same quiet placid look [one can still see it on the coin] sweet, and almost a smile, desert him, whatever was the hurry or difficulty or peril; but he was always gracious and kind to every one, so that none but loved and revered him. Eating with the common soldiers occasionally, he always took a personal and most active part in all the most ferocious combats; . . . not seldom was he on guard as an ordinary sentinel." Finally it was reported that "the renowned, splendid, beautiful island of Rhodes, and its ancient and most noble capital, which the Order had acquired with so much generosity and boldness, and maintained their state for two hundred and thirteen years with marvellous vigor, liberality, gentleness, and mighty expenses of gold, and defended with an infinitude of blood, had now passed beneath the Paynim's harsh rod." Desolate under that rod, the writer saw it in February, 1868. L'Isle-Adam died at Malta, August 22, 1534, where his tombstone is yet to be seen, bearing the simple yet glorious inscription, "Here virtue reposes victorious over fortune."

#### XI. JEAN D'OMEDEZ. A. D. 1536-1553.

After L'Isle-Adam came Pierre Du Ponte as Grand Master (1534 to November 1535), then Didier de Sainte Jaille.\* The latter, however, never reached Malta, but died at Montpellier, Sept. 26, the same year. Both these men were worthy knights, the former "a literary man and eloquent," the latter

\* Pierre Du Ponte was a native of Piedmont. His arms were argent, a saltire gules, — on a field of white or silver, a saltire or St. Andrew's cross, of red. Didier Tholon de Sainte Jaille, was elected Nov. 22, 1535. He was of the Province of Dauphiny, and of very advanced age when chosen, which forbade him to go to Malta. His arms were vert, a swan argent, beaked and membered or: on a field of green a swan of silver, with beak and field of gold.



"one of signal bravery and ability during the siege of Rhodes." Omedez (often spelled Homedez) had also an honorable record in the siege of Rhodes, and had lost an eye there. He was a Spaniard of Arragon.

Our coin is silver. Upon the *obverse* is the shield of Grand Master Omedez, which shows his family arms\* quartered with those of the Order, surrounded by the legend, · F · IO · OMEDES · M · HOS · HIERLM · ✠ that is, Brother Jean Omedez, Master of the Order of the Hospital of Jerusalem. The abbreviations having been frequently given in full, need not be again repeated. Upon the *reverse* is the *Agnus Dei*, or Holy Lamb, with pennon, surrounded by the legend, · ECCE · QVI · TOLLIT · PECCATA · ✠ signifying, "Behold the Lamb of God who taketh away sins." Plate II. Figure 5.

Scarcely was this Grand Master installed at Malta, when a rumor of invasion by the Turks required a repetition of the measures taken at Rhodes sixteen years before. Omedez was immediately invested with dictatorial power, the treasury made free to him, and a set of fortifications promptly begun. Tripoli was captured by the Turks, August, 1551, with great loss to the Order, not one of the defenders escaping with life. The English under Henry VIII now withdrew from the Order never to return. Vertot devotes a large space in his history to the times of this Grand Master, but our limits forbid us to enter further upon it here.

## XII. CLAUDE DE LA SENGLE. A. D. 1553-1557.

Claude de la Sengle, or Sangle, as sometimes spelled, was the next Grand Master, having been elected towards the close of September. The coin of which we have a specimen is of silver. Its *obverse* bears the arms of

\* These arms as given on the coin are quarterly 1 and 4 gules a cross argent (on a red field a white cross) 2 and 3, per pale, dexter, or a pine tree vert; sinister, gules, three castles argent, one over two. The second and third quarters are formed by combining two coats; of these, that on the wearer's right or *dexter* side is a pine tree, green, on a field of gold, and the other, on a red field, one castle of silver, over two others of the same color. Vertot, in his engraving, places the dexter coat on the sinister side, and vice versa. He also arranges the castles two over one, as does St. Allais. The

device on the coin was probably placed as engraved, as a matter of convenience. The cross in the first and fourth quarters is sometimes but improperly called, in speaking of these arms, the Jerusalem cross. That, however, was a Teutonic cross or cross potent surrounded by four small Greek crosses, silver on a field of gold,—being one of the few intentional violations of heraldic law, which forbids the placing of metal on metal, and is said to allude to the Scriptural apples of gold in pictures of silver, which is perhaps doubtful.



De la Sengle, quartered as his predecessors bore them,\* the cross of the Order taking the place of honor, and his family device beside it. The pilgrim shells are said to allude to some selected by his ancestor from the beach at Joppa, when in the crusade there four centuries previous. The use of this heraldic device was limited by the bull of Pope Alexander IV, A. D. 1254, to "pilgrims who were strictly noble." The legend is, F · CLAUD · DE · LA · SENGL · M · HOSP · H ✠ The *reverse* of the coin gives the full length figure of St. John the Baptist, patron saint of the Order. He holds his right hand up as if in the act of exhorting; his left supports the pastoral staff. The legend is PARATE · VIAM · DOMINI The joint inscriptions are to be read thus: "Brother Claude de la Sengle, Master of the Hospital, Jerusalem.—Prepare ye the way of the Lord!" There is nothing of special interest in the life of this Grand Master, but his successor was the far-famed De la Vallette, of whose mintage we present two specimens. Plate III. Figure 1.

### XIII. JEAN DE LA VALLETTE-PARISOT. A. D. 1557–1568.

August 21, 1557, forms an era in the history of the Order, as the day of election to the Grand Mastership of Sir Jean Parisot, better known by his family name of Vallette. The coin before us is of copper, large, well struck, artistic in execution. Upon the *obverse*, cantoned in a Maltese cross, the letters · F · IO · D · V for "Frater Jean De Vallette." The legend is SVB HOC SIGNO MILITAMVS ✠ "Under this sign we fight." The *reverse* has the old fashioned emblem of two hands joined, the thumb over the back of the hand. The letters VALLETE M T · 4 · on the field both sides of the emblem and below a small cross, imply "Vallette Master, Four Tari." (A tari is a Sicilian Maltese coin, worth 20 grani or about four cents of our money.) The legend, NON AES SED FIDES · 1567 ✠ may be freely translated, "It is not money we want, but faithful service;" Or perhaps it alludes to the reliance which should be placed by the people of the island on the promises and good faith of the

\* These arms are quarterly, 1 and 4 gules a cross argent; 2 and 3 or on a saltire sable five escallops argent. That is, for the last two quarters five white scallop shells placed on a black saltire, (or St. Andrew's cross,) upon a gold field.



Order.\* On other coins of this Grand Master, I see such mottoes as these, *Parate Viam Domini*, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord;" *Propter Veritatem et Justitiam*, "On account of truth and justice," and others.

This De la Vallette is doubly famous as the founder of the city still called by his name, and his beating off the Turks in the great assaults of 1565. The same Sultan Solyman, who had wrested Rhodes from them in 1522, now pursued the Order to Malta. On Friday, May 18, 1565, his fleet appeared to the southeast of the island. The number of forces under the knights was but eight thousand five hundred, that of the Turks twenty times as great. Of the knights themselves there were five hundred and forty-one. The assault began on Sunday, May 20, and continued with brief intervals until September 8,—a day still celebrated on the island—when the enemy retired utterly discomfited. "During all these months," says the historian, "all were aware of their situation and knew it was contrary to military calculation, yet the tenderness of honor and sublime devotedness to the Christian creed kept them perfectly reconciled to their sufferings." In the capture of the fortress of St. Elmo, the Order lost one hundred knights, and more than one thousand soldiers, and but for the arrival of a small but valorous reinforcement from Spain of seven hundred and thirty-four men, June 29, Malta had doubtless yielded as Rhodes did forty-three years before. September 6, a second reinforcement of six thousand men from Sicily landed on the island and the Turks retreated. Then the city of Valletta was built, which at the present time has a population of about 36,000. This renowned Grand Master expired August 21, 1568. Plate III. Figure 2.

A second coin of De la Vallette is next represented. It is silver, the value of one tari or about four cents. The *obverse* gives the family arms of

\* The Rev. Henry Seddall, in his "Malta Past and Present," page 87, says, "Every Saturday the workmen were paid in what was called 'black-money.' This consisted of brass and copper coins, which had been manufactured to meet the necessity of the case, bearing on one side the arms of the Grand Master and of the Order, and on the other side the inscription, *Non æs sed fides*. Each of these coins possessed a current value, and was

held as a promissory note would be—payable on demand as soon as ever the exchequer of the Order should be replenished; and to the credit of La Vallette be it said, that as remittances arrived in the island from the continent, this spurious currency was gradually withdrawn, so that throughout the whole progress of the work public confidence was not for one moment shaken."





Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

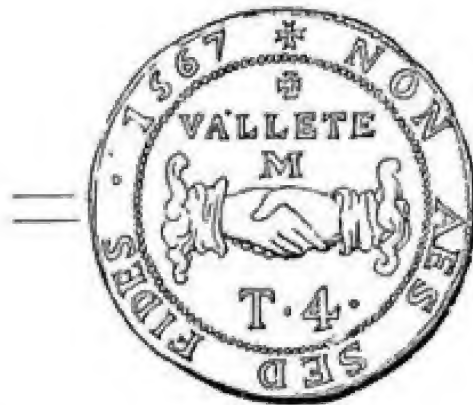


Fig. 3.

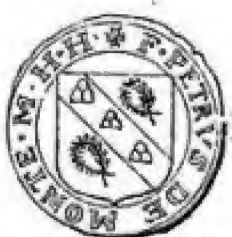


Fig. 4.

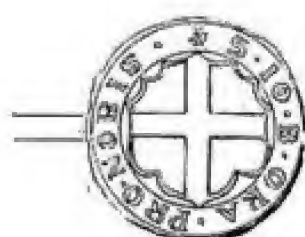


Fig. 5.



the great chief, containing a falcon and a lion.\* The legend is F · IO · DE VALLETTA · M · HOSP · HIE ✠ (*Frater Johannes de Valletta, Magister Hospitalis Hierosolimitani*). The reverse shows the equal cross, and the legend is S · IOANNES · B · ORA PRO NOBIS ✠ The epigraphs translated, read, "Brother John De Vallette, Grand Master Hospital, Jerusalem.—St. John Baptist, pray for us!" This expression, pious and fervent, doubtless comforted many a weary soul during the long and destructive siege above named. The falcon and lion kept by this Grand Master died three days before him, and this was deemed ominous of his own approaching end. Plate III. Figure 3.

#### XV. PIERRE DE MONTE. A. D. 1568–1572.

Following De la Vallette came Pierre de Monte, a nephew of Pope Julius III, who took the usual Coronation Oath in 1568, as follows: "I swear, solemnly, in the Divine Presence, to observe the established and good ancient usages of our Order, and to act in all State affairs by the advice of the members of the Council. So help me, God." De Monte was seventy years of age at his installation, and had distinguished himself in the siege three years before. On the 17th March, 1571, the new city, Valletta, was occupied.

The coin before us is of the value of one tari, the same as XIV. Upon the *obverse* is the Grand Master's shield, in whose quarterings are branches of olive, and monticula or little mountains, from which the Grand Master's family name is derived.† The *reverse* has the cross so often referred to. The inscriptions are, F · PETRVS DE MONTE M · H · H · ✠ and S · IO · B · ORA · PRO · NOBIS ✠ The letters M. H. H. are for *Magister Hospitalis Hierosolymae*. "Brother Peter de Monte, Master of the Hospital at Jerusalem.—Saint John Baptist, pray for us." Plate III. Figure 4.

\* Vertot engraves these family arms thus: gules, per pale, dexter a gerfalcon argent; sinister a lion rampant or; that is, the field of the shield is red, divided perpendicularly; on the *wearer's* right is a white gerfalcon, and on his left a lion rampant gold. St. Allais gives the same arms with the exception of substituting a paroquet in place of the falcon. The bird on the coin seems to be a falcon.

† De Monte's arms were, azure, between two branches of olive argent, a bend or, charged with three mountains

(or rocks) gules; that is, on a blue field a diagonal stripe from bearer's right to left, of gold, on which are three red rocks or mountains: on each side a branch of olive, of silver. These arms, as given by St. Allais, agree with the coin. Vertot, in his large work, gives them with some variation—making the bend or stripe of gules (red) cottised or, (that is, with a narrow strip of gold on each side) and charging the bend with three groups of billets argent, (billets, as drawn in heraldry, resemble the envelope of a letter,) one over two.



In the erection of the city of Valletta, the Pope granted a dispensation, by which it was made lawful to work upon festival days and Sundays. Of hod-bearers—"bearers of burdens"—there were eight thousand. All Christian nations joined in the cost and labor, it being destined as a cosmopolitan city, the only one of the class ever constructed.

Another invasion by the Turks being threatened, Grand Master De Monte offered to resign, but was prevented by a letter which the Pope wrote him with his own hand, saying, "It would be to go against the Providence which assigned him so glorious a load. Instead of being intimidated by age or weakness, he should become the more animated the shorter the journey he had to travel, for God would assuredly give him strength for the work he had to perform. Not a leaf falls from the tree without the knowledge of God!" In his Grand Mastership, October 7, 1571, occurred the celebrated naval battle at Lepanto, in which the Austrian prince, Don John, who had been a knight of Malta, commanded. The Christian loss was 7,650, a cheap price for such a victory, which preserved Christian countries from Mohammedanism. The Turks lost 30,000. The great vessel of the knights of Malta, styled *Capitano di Malta*, was No. 6 in the line of battle. He died January 20, 1572.

#### XVI. JEAN L'EVESQUE DE LA CASSIERE. 1572-1582.

De Monte was succeeded by Jean L'Evesque de la Cassière, a knight of the Langue of Auvergne, and Marshal of the Order, who was elected Jan. 27, 1572. The devices on the coin before us, which is of gold, are similar to those described under V, and represent the Grand Master kneeling before St. John, who is presenting him with a staff and pennon with his right hand, and holding a book in his left. The legend of the obverse is F · IO · LEVESQVE · D LA · CASSIERE. Beside the staff are the letters M I and a small quatrefoil. The *reverse* has the figure of the Saviour, with cruciform nimbus, standing in the *Vesica Piscis*; His right hand is extended, and His left holds a book: on the right are five stars and on the left four. The legend is DA MICH VIRTUTEM CONTRA HOSTES TVO. The reader will notice the peculiar arrangement of the letters on the left of the obverse, and the erroneous spelling of the word



*Mihi*, while the final *s* of *Tuos* is omitted for want of room. The inscriptions translated read, "Brother John Le Vesque De La Cassiere.—Give me valor against Thine enemies!" Plate III. Figure 5.

Grand Master Cassiere\* had already been fifty years in the service of the Order. Upon the Barbary coast he had performed notable feats against the pirates, as standard bearer of the knights; his official oath being, "In no case to abandon his standard, but rather die honorably than live a degraded wretch, deprived of cross and uniform, expelled from knightly society, a prey to ignominy and shame." On one occasion, sore pressed by the enemy, he flung himself into the sea, and holding his banner upright, struggled through the breakers for a hundred yards or more and so reached his boat. But he lived on bad terms with his knights as Grand Master, and died at Rome. Well might a historian say, "Of all the great religious institutions which had birth in the middle ages, none acquired so much glory as this Order of St. John!"

#### XVII. HUGO DE LOUBENS DE VERDALLE. 1582–1595.

Verdalle was the fifty-first Grand Master, and elected January 12, 1582. His administration of thirteen years was marred by a spirit of insubordination among the knights, and the Pope, Sextus V, elevated him to the position of Cardinal, hoping, but vainly as the event proved, that his spiritual rank might give him an influence which his Grand Mastership did not bring with it.

The piece shown in our engraving is of copper, and like No. XIII, (Pl. III, Fig. 2,) is dated. In general, **coins** of the period must be studied for dates, by referring to the sovereign under whose rule they were struck. The Christian era was but little used in identifications. Upon the *obverse* is the shield of Grand Master Verdalle,† surmounted by a cardinal's cap, as No. VI, showing that those two Grand Masters held the highest positions save that of

\* His arms, which do not appear on any coin which I have seen, were argent, a lion rampant gules: on a silver shield a lion of red, standing nearly erect and springing forward.

† His arms as given by Saint Allais are quarterly 1 and 4 gules, a cross argent, (the bearings of the Order,) 2 and 3 gules, a wolf rampant, (French, *ravissant*,) or.

That is, in the third and fourth quarters, a wolf leaping upward, of gold on a red field. The shield on the coin is surmounted by a crown, over which is the Cardinal's cap, with its peculiar tassels. Verdalle was, we learn from St. Allais, a Prince of Toulouse.



Pope, in the Papal Church. The charges in the second and third of the quarterings are wolves. The legend of the obverse is F · H · DE LOVBENX VERDALA CARD · M · H · H ✠. His name on the coin is given in slightly different form from the French spelling, which we follow for uniformity. The abbreviations are the same with others already often explained. Upon the *reverse*, beside the legend, NON + AES + SED + FIDES + ✠ appear the joined hands, emblem of *Fides*, also a blazing star, the date 1590, and the value, *four taris*. The legends when translated all read, "Brother Hugh de Loubens Verdalle, Cardinal, Master of the Order of the Hospital of Jerusalem: Not money but fidelity." The blazing star or comet possibly refers to some planetary phenomenon, as we see in *coins* struck by Augustus after the death of Julius Caesar, when a comet appeared in the sky, and was visible for several months, pronounced by the augurs *the spirit of the assassinated hero*. An immense comet appeared A. D. 1456, just after Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks, and produced a Papal Bull in which the Turk and the comet were made joint subjects of curse.


Grand Master Verdalle proved to be a haughty, severe ruler, and lived on bad terms with the Knights. There were no incidents of special importance to the Order during his administration, but to his neglect is attributed the fact that in 1591 no less than three thousand persons died of starvation, and the famine was succeeded by pestilence.\* He died it is said of chagrin, on the 4th of May, 1595, at the age of sixty-four. Plate IV. Figure 1.

#### XVIII. MARTIN GARZES. A. D. 1595-1601.

Garzes, the successor of Verdalle, was of the Langue of Arragon, and elected June 8, 1595, ruling the Order till February 7, 1601, when he died at the age of sixty-four.

The piece we engrave is also a copper coin of diminutive size, struck, as our cents and nickel pieces, for small change. Upon the *obverse* is the legend F · MARTINVS · GARZES M · H · ✠ surrounding the Grand Master's arms, quartered

\* See Seddall's *Malta, Past and Present*, p. 112.

in the 1st and 4th with the equal cross, and in the 2d and 3d with a swan (?) and three mullets or stars.\* Upon the field of the *reverse* there are no emblems, but merely the legend HOSPITALI · HIERSALEM  surrounding the inscription, VT COMMODIVS The epigraphs, etc., when translated, read thus, "Brother Martin Garzes, Master of the Hospital of Jerusalem. For the greater convenience of trade." Garzes was a Spanish knight, and as nearly all the provisions used in Malta were obtained in Sicily, it was found that Malta was always better governed when a Spaniard was at the head of affairs, and this Grand Mastership was no exception. As an instance, showing the condition of the people and their reduced circumstances, which perhaps occasioned the need of currency of so trifling a value, we may mention that he first established a Public Pawnbrokery, an institution still in existence and well managed by the local government of Malta.† Plate IV. Figure 2.

He was a prudent, wise and discreet ruler, but under his Grand Mastership, however, sad contentions arose among the knights, as during the two preceding administrations. The Pope, Clement VIII, wrote upon the subject, attributing the discord to the division of the Order into eight Languages, which had been done two hundred and fifty years before. There is no doubt that this arrangement worked badly in times of peace, whatever may have been the case in war. Here is the list of *Langues*, with the name of the officer assigned to each. 1. *Provence*. The knights of this *Langue* chose the Grand Commander of the Order. 2. *Auvergne*. These chose the Grand Marshal. 3. *France* proper. They chose the Grand Hospitaller. 4. *Italy*. The Grand Admiral. 5. *Arragon*. The Grand Conservator. 6. *Germany*. The Grand Bailiff. 7. *Castille*. The Grand Chancellor. 8. *England*. The Grand Turcopolier. (This office was equivalent to that of *Master of Horse*. In the Crusades there was a body of light horse styled *Turcopolis*, whose chief was called *Turcopolier*.) Each of these eight resided in his own palace. In each of the eight grand divisions was one or more Grand Priories that gov-

\* Vertot depicts his arms quarterly 1 and 4, gules a cross argent, (the cross of "the Religion" as he loves to call the Order) 2 and 3, azure, a falcon rising argent; in chief three mullets of *six* points, argent. That is, on a field of blue a falcon of white or silver, with

three stars of the same above. Saint Allais calls the bird a swan, which seems from the engraving more correct.

† Seddall's Malta, Past and Present, pp. 115-116.



erned the inferior bodies, styled Preceptories. At one period, the Order comprehended twenty-two Grand Priories and five hundred and ninety-six Preceptories, all in Europe.

#### XIX. ALOFIO DE WIGNACOURT. 1601-1622.

Grand Master Garzes having deceased, the choice fell upon De Wignacourt, who, in his long administration of twenty-one years, proved himself an able and worthy ruler. This coin, like the preceding, is also of copper. It presents on the *obverse* the Grand Master's shield surmounted by a crown. For his hospitality and other virtues, the Emperor, Ferdinand I, conferred upon him the royal title of Most Serene Highness. This lofty symbol will be observed on other numbers of this series. On the 1st and 4th quarters again appears the equal cross of the Order; in the 2d and 3d quarters are three fleurs-de-lys, and a label, denoting that his family was French, and he its eldest branch.\* The legend of the obverse, surrounding the arms, is F · ALOFIVS · DE · WIGNACOVRT M · H ✠. The *reverse* has the familiar motto, NON ★ AES ★ SED ★ FIDES ✠ surrounding the joined hands, as in Nos. XIII and XVII, with the date "1619" and the letter "X" which possibly signifies ten grani, something less than two cents in our currency. Two stars are also impressed in the field beside the date. The legends translated are, "Brother Alofio de Wignacourt, Master of Hospitallers: not money but fidelity." It will be remembered that this coin was struck the year before the *Mayflower* sailed from England to New England. The great work of his administration was the construction of the aqueduct which still bears his name. Plate IV. Fig. 3.

The Pope had an elevated opinion of Grand Master Wignacourt, and wrote him a commendatory letter, praising him for his attention to discipline, and animating him to continue the work so well begun. In November, 1609, this Grand Master wrote a letter to the king of Persia, offering him the aid of

\* Vertot in *Liste des Chevaliers de la Langue de France*. iv, page 77, describes the 2d and 3d quarters as argent three fleurs-de-lys coupé at the bottom gules, surmounted by a label sable, (d'argent a trois fleur-de-lys au pied coupe de gueules, surmonte d'un lambel de sable.) The field is white; the flowers red, the bottom

part of each cut off, with a black label at the top of the shield. In his engraving the label, which denotes that he was of the elder branch, or the eldest son, is omitted, though it appears on this coin, and also in his arms as given in Saint Allais, whose description is identical with Vertot's.



the Order against the Turks. To preserve Malta against invasion from that power required, it was reckoned, a force of from 15,000 to 20,000 men, but if the war could be limited to Asia, there was the less need for such strong defence at home. The battles of the Order in his time were mostly maritime, and the knights well maintained their ancient fame. Laden with honors and greatly beloved, he died at the age of seventy-five, September 14, 1622, and Dr. Vassalto says of this eminent man, that "not one of the twenty-eight Grand Masters who ruled over Malta deserved so well of the Maltese people as Alophius Wignacourt."

#### XX. ANTOINE DE PAULE. 1622-1636.

The successor of De Wignacourt was Grand Master Louis Mendes Vasconcellos, a Portuguese, who administered the government but six months and then died.\* I have none of his coins. Following him was Grand Master Antoine de Paule,† of Gascony, who was appointed March 10, 1622-3, the year 1623 under the old style beginning with "Lady-day," March 25, the Feast of the Annunciation. His coin, like the last, is of copper. Upon the *obverse* is the Grand Master's shield, with a peacock on the 2d and 3d quarters and the cross of the Order. Around is the legend, F·ANTONIUS DE PAVLA·M·H·H †. On the *reverse* is the legend as on the last, the date 1629 above the joined hands, and below, the indication of value, V. (?for five grani.) The inscriptions duly translated are, "Brother Antony de Paule, Grand Master (*Magister Magnus*) of Hospitallers, Jerusalem: not money but fidelity." Plate IV. Figure 4.

During the Grand Mastership of De Paule, the Order lost by accident two galleys, upon which the Prior of Aquitaine presented them with the sum of 4,600 gold crowns, "a new instance of the benevolence of its own mem-

\* Vasconcellos became Grand Master about the close of September, 1622, and died March 7, 1623, at the age of eighty. His family arms were argent, three bars indented gules. That is, on a field of silver three horizontal bars of red, having their edges serrated. In Vertot's engraving the bars are engraved as "closets," that is, very much narrower.

† The arms of De Paule are azure, a peacock affronté resting on a garb or: in a chief gules three mullets or; the explanation being a golden peacock seated on a sheaf of wheat of the same color, facing, its plumage displayed, the field being blue, and golden stars at the top on a stripe of red.



bers towards their common stock." The Pope, Urban VIII, showing a desire to meddle with the internal economy of the Order, Grand Master De Paule wrote the King of France, June, 1625, beseeching him to intercede, and ask the Pope to cease interference with their concerns. Nevertheless, Urban did persist, and issued a Bull, October 21, 1634, concerning the form of electing Grand Masters, "which produced much evil to the Order during above a century." De Paule lived to the age of eighty-five, dying June 9, 1636, after a reign singularly barren of events, the most interesting being a convocation or chapter general, which established the statutes of the Order, which were its rules of government until its dissolution.

XXI. JEAN PAUL LASCARIS-CASTELLAR. A. D. 1636-1657.

Lascaris is said to have been a descendant of the ancient Emperors of Constantinople. He was unanimously elected Grand Master on June 13, 1636, at the age of sixty-six.\* This coin is copper. The Grand Master's shield, surmounted by a crown, appears on the *obverse*. In the 2d and 3d quarters the double-headed eagle appears. On the right and left are the moon and sun. The legend is, F · IO · PAVLVS · LASCARIS · CASTELLAR · M · M · H H ✠. Other devices are seen in the cut which somewhat obliterate the armorial charges. Upon the *reverse* appeared when the piece was minted, the date, 1637, and below the hands the letter T, and possibly a figure. The legend is, . NON + AES + SED + FIDES · ✠. Both sides of our specimen have now many other figures stamped upon them. The "Agnus Dei," the double-headed eagle, a crowned fleur-de-lys, the head of St. John, etc. These are countermarks which I think can be readily explained. During his Grand Mastership he resorted to the expedient of a brass coinage, redeemable in three years, and thus procured fifty thousand crowns to supply his pressing wants. As these pieces came back into the treasury they were reissued again and again, having a counterstamp placed upon them from time to time. His own device

\* Lascaris' family arms, were or, a double-headed eagle displayed sable, beaked and membered gules. That is, a black double-headed eagle with beak and talons of red, on a field of gold. Possibly this device

alludes to his traditional descent from the Eastern Emperors. To their use of this charge we may trace its appearance in the arms of Russia, Austria and Prussia.



of a double-headed eagle displayed, is clearly to be seen among them, and we may also trace the crossed keys and crescent, as well as the head of St. John, emblems used by Gessans a few years later, on a piece to be described below; the lamb appears on Cotoner's, and the fleur-de-lys on Wignacourt's coins. The inscriptions translated will read, "Brother John Paul Lascaris Castellar, Grand Master of Hospitallers of Jerusalem; not money but fidelity." Plate IV. Figure 5.

During the reign of Grand Master Lascaris in 1640, one of those constantly recurring alarms of Turkish invasion was experienced, and the knights of the Order were summoned from all the Priories. The King of Spain ordered his Viceroy to aid the Knights of Malta. Four years later, January 24, 1645, the impending danger became so threatening, that every knight in the Priory of France was summoned "to set out instantly for Malta without a single exception for those too decrepid to fight, but that they must appear and be judged upon the spot whether to be declared invalided or not, all with their arms; otherwise they should be deprived of the cross and insignia, besides other severities." Grand Master Lascaris died August 14, 1657, aged ninety-seven, as his tombstone in the old Church of St. John at Valletta shows.

## XXII. MARTIN DE REDIN. 1657-1660.

Next in the brilliant line of warrior monks comes Don Martin de Redin. He was a Spaniard of Arragon. His coin of silver displays on the *obverse* the arms of the Order, surmounted by a crown, and the legend, S. IOAN · BAP · ORA PRO NOBIS. The *reverse* has his family arms,\* with a similar crown, and the legend, F · D · MARTINVS DE REDIN M M. *Frater Dominus Martinus*, etc., for Brother Don Martin de Redin. There are no other devices. The epigraph of the obverse signifies Saint John Baptist, Pray for us! It has been seen, no doubt, that the saintly protector or Patron of the Order was the Forerunner and Baptizer of Jesus Christ. Plate IV. Figure 6.

\* These arms were azure, a cross argent fimbriated or; that is, on a field of blue a silver cross bordered with gold. As Grand Master, he bore his family arms in the 2d and 3d quarters, with the cross in first and fourth, as was the custom of the Order.



Grand Master De Redin was Prior of Navarre at the period of his election. He had been Viceroy of Sicily, and so famous a soldier, that even in his last years he offered to join in the formation of another crusade to the Holy Land. The Pope, Alexander VII, issued a Bull praising him as he merited, and saying, "Your marvellous example calls forth even my energies." He died February 6, 1660, in the seventieth year of his age. The reader will remark upon the constant practice of this Order, to select for Grand Masters men of *advanced years* as well as approved valor and experience.

XXIII. ANNET DE CLERMONT CHATTE-GESSANS. A. D. 1660.

This Grand Master was unanimously elected to succeed De Redin, but he administered the government scarcely three months before he expired, June 2, 1660, from wounds received in the African wars in early youth. He was of an ancient royal house, a gallant soldier, and greatly esteemed and beloved. The coin is silver, of the value "T. 4" (four taris). The shield of the Grand Master is seen on the *obverse* surmounted by a crown, and the legend (which, somewhat unusually, begins to read at the bottom), F · ANNETVS CLERMONT GESSAN · M · M · H · H · 1660 ✠ In the 2d and 3d quarterings\* are crossed keys, and in the 1st and 4th the equal cross of the "Religion." On the *reverse* appears of amplest size the head of the patron saint, John the Baptist, referring to Matthew xiv. 10, 11: "Herod sent and beheaded John in the prison. And his head was brought in a charger and given to the damsel." The features are artistically drawn. The legend is · S · IOAN · BAP · ORA · PRO · NOBIS · MO · NO · ✠ The inscriptions when translated, read "Brother Annet Clermont Gessan, Grand Master of Hospitallers of Jerusalem, 1660. Saint John Baptist pray for us." (MO. NO.?) Plate IV. Figure 7.

XXIV. RAPHAEL COTONER. A. D. 1660-1663.

Grand Master Cotoner had been Bailiff of the Island of Majorca. The Turks were invading Candia at this time, and his first care was to send aid to

\* His arms were gules, two keys in saltire, argent, a crescent of the second "email" in chief. That is, on a field of red two silver crossed keys, with a crescent above of the same color between their wards. This crescent does not appear on the coin.



the Venetians there. The coin is silver of the value of one tari (T. 1 on the sides of the shield). Upon the *obverse* we have the Grand Master's shield, exhibiting in the 2d and 3d quarters flowers of the cotton plant,\* and in the 1st and 4th the indispensable cross of the Order, and the legend, F. D. RAPHAEL COTONER. M · M · H · H ✚ Upon the *reverse* is the "*Agnus Dei*," as in previous specimens; around which is the legend, ECCE · QVI · TOLLIT · PECCATA · MVNDI ✚ The inscriptions translated read thus, "Brother Don Raphael Cotoner, Grand Master of Hospitallers of Jerusalem. Behold [the Lamb of God] that taketh away the sins of the world!" On this coin, also, the legends begin to read at the bottom. Plate IV. Figure 8.

The war between the Turks and Venetians began in 1644 and lasted twenty-five years. In the end the Moslems gained the island of Candia, which they have held ever since. This led the Order the more earnestly to fortify Malta, and it was at this time they were denominated by high authority, "the most distinguished men for bravery in all the world, surpassingly dear to every class of human kind, to whom universal Christendom owes immortal praise." It was at this time that the Duke of Savoy formed a regiment in which all the officers from Chaplains to Colonel were *Knights of Malta*. This was called the *Regiment of the White Cross*. Don Raphael died at the age of sixty-three, Oct. 20, 1663, of a pestilence or contagious disease which prevailed in Malta at that time.

#### XXV. GREGOIRE CARAFE. A. D. 1680–1690.

The successor of Grand Master Raphael Cotoner was his brother, Nicholas Cotoner, A. D. 1663 to 1680. Of him I have no **coins**. He was succeeded by Grand Master Carafe or Caraffa, Prior of Rocella, a Spaniard of Arragon, but long a resident of Naples. The coin is copper, and remarkable for having no inscriptions. A shield with a device resembling an oak staff across it, a crown above, and the Maltese cross occupy the *obverse*. The *reverse*

\* The arms of Don Raphael and his brother Nicholas who succeeded him, were or, a cotton flower vert, or as Saint Allais gives the color, *sinople* (a shade of green). That is, on a field of gold the cotton flower as described.

Nicholas died April 20, 1680, at the age of sixty-three, having had the misfortune to see a cruel famine follow the pestilence which had wasted the people during his brother's administration.



contains a hand holding an upright dagger, the hilt ornamented with evergreen and flowery branches. The coin is identified by the heraldic bearings upon the shield,\* every Grand Master having his own, as easily distinguished from all others as a portrait or autograph. The correspondence of Grand Master Caraffa with the Emperor Leopold of Austria, the renowned Sobiesky of Poland, and the Doge of Venice, is yet preserved, showing how high an estimate those potentates placed upon the Fraternity, which they called "the sacred knightly Order;" "the renowned cavaliers of St. John of Jerusalem, whose valor is celebrated throughout the world;" "bravest and most devoted of men;" "an Order whose valor terrifies the barbarian and is the shield of Europe." He died July 20, 1690, at the age of sixty-six. Plate IV. Fig. 9.

XXVI. ADRIAN DE WIGNACOURT. A. D. 1690-1697.

Grand Master Caraffa, after a successful administration of ten years, was succeeded by De Wignacourt, who had been Grand Treasurer of the Order. He was a nephew of the illustrious Alof, and the sixty-third Grand Master since the organization of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, A. D. 1099. This coin is copper. The *obverse* exhibits three fleurs-de-lys, showing that he was of a French family, and the legend, F · ADR · DE WIGNACOVRT · M · M · H H · (The last two letters in a sort of monogram.) The *reverse* displays the Maltese cross, around which are arranged the figures 1693, and the legend is, IN HOC SIGNO MILITAMVS✠ The inscriptions when translated are, "Brother Adrian de Wignacourt, Grand Master of Hospitallers of Jerusalem: By this sign we fight," or "Under this standard let us enter upon the fight."† Plate IV. Figure 10.

The Pope communicated to Grand Master Wignacourt his sense of the splendid beneficence of the Order. The Doge of Venice, the Emperor Leopold, the Czar of Russia, and other notabilities of the day corresponded with

\* His arms were barry of six, argent and gules, a bend undee vert (*sinople*, according to Saint Allais). That is, the field has six parallel bars of silver and red, alternately, and a diagonal stripe of green with its edges "wavy," or somewhat undulating.  
† His armorial bearings were like those of his uncle, Alof, already described, except that the label, the emblem of the elder branch, is absent.





Fig. 2.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 3.

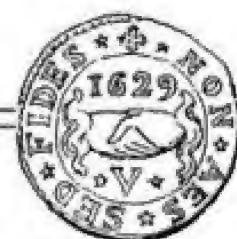


Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.



Fig. 6.



Fig. 5.

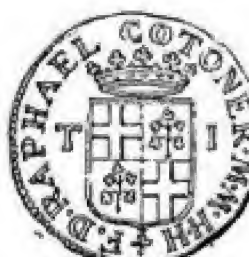


Fig. 8.

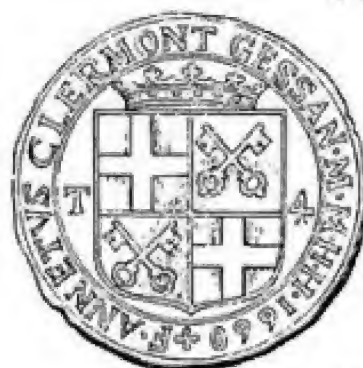


Fig. 7.



Fig. 8.



Fig. 9.



Fig. 10.



Fig. 9.

PLATE IV.



him in complimentary terms. And here we may remark that we are now passing the summit of Malta's ancient glory. One more century of decline will bring us to the fall of this magnificent Order. The wonders of its youth and lusty manhood, however, must not be forgotten. First Rhodes, then Malta, through perilous times were the bulwarks of Christendom. Many a time and oft, when European powers were at war with each other, this Military Order was their only defence against the incursions of the Turks. But the days of gallantry and devotion are drawing to a close, and the eighteenth century is mostly a blank in their history. Grand Master De Wignacourt died February 4, 1697, at the age of seventy-nine. Three days later his successor was appointed.

There was but little of special interest to the world at large which distinguished the term of office of this Grand Master. He is best remembered by the liberal pensions he granted to the widows and soldiers who had fallen in the Levant in the wars between Venice and the Turks, and by the terrible earthquake four years before his death, in January, 1693, which damaged many buildings in Malta, destroying its cathedral, and the anniversary of which is even yet commemorated by solemn *Te Deums*.

#### XXVII. RAYMOND PERELLOS. A. D. 1697-1720.

The successor of De Vignacourt was Grand Master Perellos, elected February, 1697. He was of Arragon, and at the period of his election Bailiff of Negropont. The coin we illustrate is gold. Upon the *obverse* appears the Grand Master's shield charged with the indispensable cross in the 1st and 4th quarterings. In the 2d and 3d are pears, the family badge,\* a punning allusion to the name, which means "little pears." The shield is surmounted by a crown. Upon the *reverse* is a device much resembling those upon our specimens Nos. III, V, and XVI, but with some differences. The Grand Master wears a sword and kneels upon one knee only, holding the staff by one hand. The banner is charged with the cross of the Order. The figure

\* The family arms were or, three pears sable two over one below. The crown on the shield was assumed in one. On a field of gold three black pears, two above and one below, in virtue of his Grand Mastership.



of Saint John is haloed, and he holds up his right hand as in the attitude of exhortation. The legend of the obverse is F · RAYMVNDVS PERELLOS · M · M · H · ET S · S · HIE ✠ for *Frater Raymundus Perellos, Magister Magnus Hospitalis et Sepulchri Sancti Hierosolymae*. [Brother Raymond Perellos, Grand Master of the Order of the Hospital, and of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem,] and on the reverse PIETATE VINCES · 1699, signifying "Conquer by piety, (or rather by devotion) 1699." This is the first instance in which a reference to the Holy Sepulchre is seen upon these pieces. Plate V. Figure 1.

Not so much was done in battles on the land during the twenty-three years' administration of Grand Master Perellos, as had been accomplished by some of his predecessors, but the galleys of the Order nobly maintained its glory on the sea; his chief Admiral, Spinola, while engaged in combat with a Turkish man-of-war, went down with five hundred soldiers and sailors, and the St. John, another of his vessels, repeatedly put to flight the armies and vessels of the aliens. The Bailiff of Cintray, and the Commander de Langon, sometimes called the Terror of the Infidels, and others of the knights, signalized themselves by their bravery. The Court of the Grand Master was thronged by five hundred knights, among them many general officers of various European powers, and many of lower rank, but still soldiers of merit and distinction. Much correspondence is preserved between him and European notabilities. The Shah of Persia wrote him a friendly letter in 1699. In June, 1706, a naval victory was achieved over the pirates of Tunis. He died January 20, 1720, at the age of eighty-four.

#### XXVIII. MARC ANTOINE ZONDADARI. A. D. 1720-1722.

Marc Antoine Zondadari, or Marco Antonio, if we follow the Italian spelling, was of an illustrious Venetian family, fruitful of honorable and distinguished names. Elected the same month that his predecessor died, his brief administration was productive of no important historic events. The coin before us is silver, having on the *obverse* a crowned shield imbedded in a wreath of laurel, and charged only with the cross of the Order. This is much



like the Papal money of the period. A bush or rose tree containing three full blown flowers occupies the field of the *reverse*, which was the family device.\* The legend on the obverse is F· MARCVS ANTONIVS ZONDADARI M· M· H· H· Brother Marc Antony Zondadari, Grand Master of the Hospitallers of Jerusalem. The abbreviations, so often explained, need not again be repeated. Around the rose tree on the reverse, GRATIA OBVIA VLTIO QVAESITA which we may translate, Forgiveness meets one; Vengeance is sought. This branch of a rose tree containing three flowers with the noble motto is seen upon the Tuscan coinage of that period. Plate V. Figure 2.

The celebrated Cardinal of the same name was his brother and a nephew of Pope Alexander VII. A monk even more than a soldier, this Grand Master wrote a History of the Order, and an Exposition of the Forty-first Psalm.† His career was short, and he descended to the tomb July 16, 1722, at the age of sixty-three, after having held the reins of office only two years and a half.

#### XXIX. ANTOINE MANOEL DE VILHENA. A. D. 1722-1736.

Grand Master Vilhena (or Velpena), was a Portuguese knight, born of a royal family. He had attained much glory in the Order both as soldier and statesman, and left a brilliant history for the archives of chivalry. He was elected Grand Master July 19, 1722, only three days after the burial of his predecessor. His coin is of silver and very large. The *obverse* shows his portrait facing to the right, the breast charged with the Maltese cross. Periwig, corselet, armpieces are clearly drawn. The portrait is capital. Upon the *reverse* are two shields surmounted by a crown. The one has simply the cross of the Order; the other bears beside the same cross in the first and fourth quarters, a lion rampant in the second, and in the third a hand

\* His arms were azure, on a bend or, three roses gules. That is, on a field of blue, a diagonal stripe of gold, on which three roses of red. Heraldic roses resemble rosettes of five points or divisions, rather than the flower.

† So we learn from the Abbe Vertot. St. Allais does not speak of this work, but mentions his devotion to

the interests of the Order, which during his Grand Mastership repaired all the fortifications of the island, and resumed much of its ancient discipline. Zondadari wrote a short treatise on the Military Discipline of the Order. Some descriptions of the arms of the family mention two narrow stripes of gold, one on either side of the bend, called in heraldry, *cottices*.



grasping a sword or dagger.\* The legend of the obverse is F. D · AN : MANOEL DE. on the right of the bust, and ★ VILHENA ★ on the left. The D is an abbreviation of *Dominus*, the Latin equivalent of his Portuguese title, *Don*. The reverse has the legend M · MAGISTER · HOS · ET S · S · HIERVSA : 1728 surrounding the crowned shield; the abbreviations need not be again enlarged upon. S 2 at the top of the shield signify *Due Scudi*, in value somewhat less than a dollar of our money. Like the coinage of some of his predecessors and all of his successors, his piece bears the crown, indicating his claim to equality with "kings, princes, and potentates." The inscriptions signify, "Brother Don Anthony Manoel De Vilhena, Grand Master of Hospitallers and the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, 1728." Grand Master Vilhena founded a noble infirmary at Malta, as Grand Master Fluvian had done at Rhodes three centuries before. He also built at his own expense the fort which bears his name (Manoel), opposite the city. In this was formerly a bronze statue of the Grand Master, afterwards removed to the city and placed in front of the Public Library. In the Church of St. John a mausoleum of bronze was erected to his memory, which bears a tablet representing this Grand Master directing the construction of Fort Manoel.

He died Dec. 12, 1736, aged about sixty-four. He was one of the last of the Grand Masters who were distinguished for their bravery and success on the battle field, and in naval conflicts with the fast waning power of the crescent. Plate V. Figure 3.

\* His arms as displayed on this coin, vary somewhat from St. Allais's engraving: here the second quarter is argent, a lion rampant gules, and the third, gules a right hand winged and vested or, holding a sword argent. The engraving shows the second and third quarters parti per fess, with the lion in chief and the hand in base, in each the charges being identical, but differently arranged, the first and fourth quarters display the cross of the Order. The change in the arms may have been made when he was elevated to the position of Grand Master. In plainer terms, the devices may be described as a red lion rampant in a field of silver in the second quarter, and a right hand holding a sword of silver, dressed in cloth of gold, and the arm terminated by a wing of the same color, a somewhat unusual device. In the engraving of St. Allais, the arm has a maniple, similar to that worn by the clergy of the Roman Church, and also to that borne in his arms by that gallant old

Grand Master L'Isle Adam. St. Allais mentions that the Pope presented a helmet and sword which he had blessed, the latter of silver, gilt, and of the length of five feet. Whether the charge has any reference to this fact we can only guess. Gifts like these were only presented by the Holy See to those who had greatly distinguished themselves in battle with the Infidel. The little copper coins of Vilhena, called grani, in value about two mills, bore the device of the winged arm and dagger on the obverse, surrounded by his name, and the Maltese cross, with the figures of the date in the angles, and the legend IN HOC SIGNO MILITAMVS, on the reverse. These I have seen with date as early as 1726, but I have not been able to learn at what time the sword, etc., were sent him. That he should have taken this device for his coin, rather than that of the lion, which has the more honorable position in the coat-of-arms is noticeable.



## XXX. RAYMOND D'ESPUIG DE MONTANEGRE. A. D. 1736-1741.

Raymond D'Espuig, elected Dec. 16, 1736, was by far the most insignificant of all the Grand Masters. He was of Spanish descent, and was born on the island of Majorca. He was, says Seddall, a man "of whom nobody had ever heard, who had attempted nothing, who had done nothing, and therefore when several claimants arose for the office of Grand Master, he was elected because of the neutrality of his character, which made him acceptable to all. He lived, he died. This is the sum total of his biography." And Dr. Vassallo says of him, "There was nothing remarkable under his magistracy \* \* instead of governing, he was governed." Seddall says further, "After being in office four years, he fortunately expired, January 15, 1741, at the age of seventy-one."

The *obverse* of his coin, which was silver, gives his portrait much like our specimen No. XXIX, with the legend F · D · RAIMONDVS · DESPUYG M · M · H · H. The reverse has no legend, but simply the date beside the crown surmounting the shield. The 1st and 4th quarterings are filled with the familiar cross; those of the 2d and 3d are his family arms,\* not very clearly represented, but yet enough to show something like a mountain peak, on which is a star, and upon its top the fleur-de-lis. The epigraph signifies "Brother Don Raymond D'Espuig, Grand Master of Hospitallers of Jerusalem, 1737." Plate V. Figure 4.

## XXXI. EMMANUEL PINTO DE FONSECA. A. D. 1741-1773.

The next administrator among the warlike monks was Grand Master Pinto. He was a Portuguese knight and had been Vice Chancellor of the Order before his election, which took place January 18, 1741.

This is of silver, and like our specimen No. XXIX is a very broad piece. The *obverse* gives the crowned shield, and this it will be noticed is no

\* He bore gules, a rock (or mountain) or, charged with a mullet azure, and upon its top a fleur-de-lis or. (St. Allais says *email* or, enamelled or. See Note on X.) That is, on a field of red a mountain of gold, with the flower upon its top, and a blue star of five points on its side.



longer ducal, but a "kingly crown," and bears for the first time upon its top the Maltese cross. He assumed this device and the title of Most Eminent Highness—somewhat egotistically perhaps—yet few who know his history will be disposed to deny him the honor of bearing the title and wearing this significant emblem. The shield displays the ancient cross of the Order, in the 2d and 3d quartered with five crescents,\* and the legend F·EMMANVEL PINTO M·M·H·S·S·1757 which is easily read. Upon the *reverse* we see St. John the Baptist, preaching as the forerunner, and pointing to the lamb at his feet, recalling the expression in John i: 29, "John seeth Jesus and saith, Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." The banner of the Order is elegantly looped in the wind. The meadow-place in which he stands is suggested by the grass at his feet. The legend is NON SVRREXIT MAIOR, and the inscriptions mean, "Brother Emmanuel Pinto Grand Master of Hospitallers and of the Holy Sepulchre 1757:—No greater (prophet) has arisen." The motto refers to Luke vii: 28. In the exergue T XXX, denoting the value. Plate V. Figure 5.

In the twenty-one years of Grand Master Pinto's administration, he established a long truce with the Turks. A servile insurrection broke out in Malta during his period, which came nigh producing the worst of consequences, but having received timely warning, he was able to ward off the approaching danger. It had been a question among the knights of the Order what relation was sustained to them by the knights of Prussia who were Protestants. The Order of Malta was so intensely Roman Catholic that no Grand Master could be installed without the papal authorization. Indeed, as we have seen, its most familiar name among the knights was "the Religion." But in 1763, Frederick, King of Prussia, sent a captain in his service to the Grand Prior of Germany upon this business, and it was then agreed "that the ancient connection between the Protestant knights and those of Malta should be renewed, and that the Protestant Commanderies should pay their responsions (the act of answering and rendering dues) in the same way

\* His shield as delineated shows that it had ceased to be of value in the field, and was henceforth the traditional emblem of his chivalric rank and descent. The family arms were argent, five crescents gules, two, one and two. That is, on a field of silver, five red crescents, arranged like the five spots of a playing card.





Fig. 1.

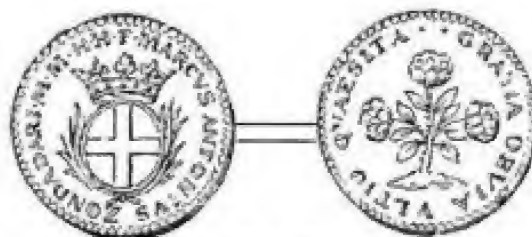


Fig. 2.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.





as the Roman Catholic; from which time the Protestant knights were treated as brethren and allowed to take the title of knights of St. John of Jerusalem." This agreed with the decision of Pope Pius VI, when he approved the association of the Russian knights, members of the Greek Church, with the Order of Malta.

There are many interesting incidents, some almost romantic, in the life of Pinto, but we have no room to relate them, and must refer our readers who wish to learn more of his times to Seddall's lively History of Malta, which we have so often quoted. It must suffice to say, that for the first time the Order refused to take up arms against the Turk, when solicited by a Christian power. This was the case, however, in the war between Russia and Turkey in 1768. He has been most noted for having been the second Grand Master to expel the Jesuits, which he did in 1768; Lascaris, his predecessor had set the example, or his people had done it for him, in 1635. This was his last public act. He lived to be ninety-two, dying January 25, 1773, after a brilliant rule of thirty-two years.

#### XXXII. FRANCOIS XIMENEZ DE TEXADA. A. D. 1773-1775.

Next in the long line and very near the last is Grand Master Ximenez. He was of Navarre, and a descendant of one of the old Counts of Arragon, who had distinguished himself in the thirteenth century. He was elected January 28, 1773. The coin is of gold, the value "s 20" 20 scudi, or about \$8, though a broad piece, being very thin. The *obverse* gives the head as in Nos. XXIX and XXX, exhibiting an exaggerated periwig. It matches the military garb but queerly. Upon the *reverse* is the crowned shield, exhibiting the equal cross of "the Religion" surmounting the Maltese cross, the whole enclosed with a jeweled circlet. The obverse has the legend FR · D · FRANCISCVS XIMENEZ DE TEXADA · M · 1774. The legend on the reverse is uncommon: · M · H · HOSPITALIS ET SANCTI SEPV: The abbreviation D on the obverse is for *Dominus*, the equivalent of the Spanish word Don. The inscriptions read consecutively from the obverse over upon the reverse, and signify "Brother



Don Francis Ximenez de Texada,\* Grand Master of the Hospital of Jerusalem and of the Holy Sepulchre." Plate VI. Figure 1.

Under Grand Master Ximenez occurred at Malta a "sedition of mischievous demagogues," so called by one class of historians; by another, "an effort of true patriots bent upon recovering their ancient liberties;" but it was readily quieted. He died November 4, 1775, at the age of seventy-two, after a brief reign of less than three years.

### XXXIII. EMMANUEL DE ROHAN POLDUC. A. D. 1775-1797.

We are now approaching the end of the illustrious line. De Rohan, whose full name as given by St. Allais, was Francois Marie des Neiges Emmanuel de Rohan-Polduc, rivalling his royal contemporaries in its length, was the successor of Ximenez. He was unanimously elected Grand Master, Nov. 12, 1775. The coin we engrave is of gold, half the value of the preceding. The bust closely resembles that of No. XXXII, periwig and all. The *reverse* has two shields, one of the Grand Master† the other of the Order. They are surmounted by a royal crown. The legend of the obverse is F. EMMANUEL DE ROHAN M. M. and of the reverse HOSPITAL · ET S · SEPUL · HIERUSAL · 1778 · denoting "Brother Emmanuel de Rohan Grand Master of the Hospital and Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, 1778." S. 10. denotes its value,—ten scudi. Plate VI. Figure 2.

Grand Master De Rohan stirred his Order to most magnanimous charity during the horrible earthquakes that devastated Calabria in 1783. "Facing all the dangers of shipwreck, pestilence and war, he aided the sufferers with money, food, clothing, bedding." This Grand Master also summoned a Chapter General to Malta, the first that had assembled since 1631, a hundred

\* Ximenez's arms do not appear on this coin. He quartered them as did his predecessors with the cross of the Order, which took the first and fourth places, while in the second and third he bore per pale, dexter gules, a crowned lion rampant or, sinister vert, a tower or, "pavilioned" argent. His own quarterings were thus divided perpendicularly, the left, the wearer's *right* side being red, on which a crowned lion, rampant, of

gold; the right, or wearer's left, hence called sinister, green, with a tower of gold, on the top of which a pavilion or tent of silver.

† De Rohan's arms were gules, nine mascles or, three, three and three. On a red field nine diamonds of gold, with their centres voided or cut out, so as to show the color of the field, and arranged in rows of threes.





Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

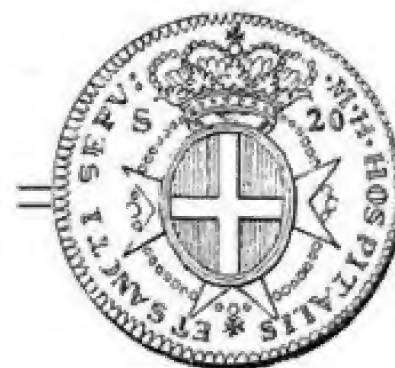


Fig. 1.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

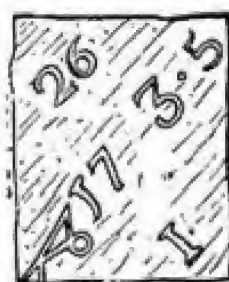


Fig. 5.

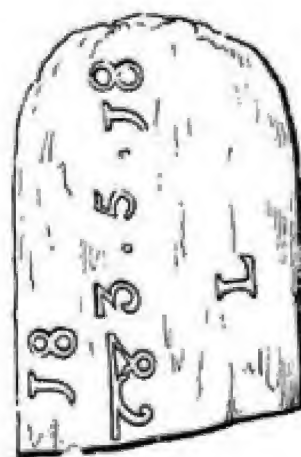


Fig. 6.

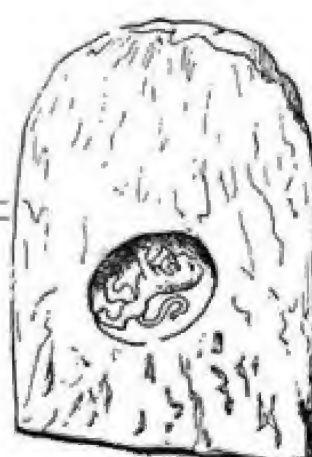


Fig. 5.



and fifty years before. A writer finely expresses the charities of the Order during those calamitous times:—"There was something cosmopolitan in all their actions. Wherever there was distress in Christendom there they hurried, calling their fellow countrymen, not merely those of their birthplace, but all Christians, quite as eager to assist Protestants or Greeks as Romanists, asking your *wants* not your *creed*; you might make sure of their life or purse most cordially offered in any calamity." "Equality within its own body, and the most free liberality in its politics, were as characteristic of the Commonwealth of St. John of Jerusalem as valor and discipline in the field." In his time a new *langue* was established, (1784) that of the Anglo-Bavarian, the old English *langue* which had been in abeyance two centuries being revived, and possessions in Bavaria being given them by Charles Theodore.\* De Rohan governed well and wisely, and when he died, July 13, 1797, at the age of seventy-two, after an administration of twenty-two years, it has been truly said the glory of the Order of St. John died with him.

Our plate also shows a smaller coin of the same Grand Master. This is of silver. The *obverse* presents a crowned eagle bearing the same shield which we saw on the last. The *reverse* has the date 1779 surrounding the Maltese cross. The legends are, on the obverse, F · EMMANUEL · DE ROHAN M · and on the reverse, M · H · ET S · SEPU · HIERUSALE ✠ the meaning of which is evident. Plate VI. Figure 3.

#### XXXIV. FERDINAND DE HOMPESCH. A. D. 1797-1798.

This is the last of the series which we shall mention. No candidates of knightly fame for the high honor of Grand Mastership appeared at the death of De Rohan. The Russian emperor, Paul, was intriguing to become patron of the Order, and Ferdinand Hompesch, an Austrian, was believed to be his tool. The finances of the Order had gone to utter ruin. All Europe was in a ferment. Bonaparte was striding across the stage with imperial steps.

\* The Order of St. Anthony, was *reunited*, says St. Allais, to that of St. John, in his time; from this expression we may fairly infer that in the earlier days of the Order they had been connected. See note on this Order under Grand Master Fluvian.

Sedition had been disseminated among the knights; treason was whispered, and the storm soon burst which swept away the property of the illustrious Order, and terminated their political existence.

The coin is of silver and large. The bust of Grand Master Hompesch, faced to the left, displays the hateful periwig so discordant to our ideas of military rule, though his breast and shoulders are properly armed, and the Maltese cross is well in front. Upon the *reverse* is the Austrian double-headed eagle, holding in the mouth the proper cross, and bearing a shield with the Grand Master's coat-of-arms.\* The value, 30 taris, is denoted by "T. 30." The legend of the obverse is F. FERDINANDVS HOMPESCH M. M. and that of the reverse, HOSPITAL. ET S. SEP. HIER. 1798. The inscriptions are, "Brother Ferdinand Hompesch, Grand Master of the Hospital and Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem, 1798." This was the last year of the sovereignty of the Order. Plate VI. Figure 4.

And why, shall we ask, why was this ancient, most noble and most useful Fraternity dissolved? The reply is, "God willed it." Its usefulness was gone. There was no further necessity for its existence. The power of the Turk had vanished. The craving for pilgrimages had ceased. The island of Malta was a prize for nations to contend for, and the first strong man who should pass that way would lay his hand upon it. That man was Napoleon Bonaparte. May 19, 1798, he took his departure from Toulon with two hundred merchant vessels and an immense fleet of transports for Egypt. He was bound upon a great expedition. As he lay off the Island of Malta had there been any show of defence, he would have passed by, for such were his orders, and Nelson, who was in pursuit of him, would probably have captured the island in his stead. It surrendered to Napoleon June 13, 1798, and Grand Master Hompesch accompanied by only eight persons, sailed June 17, for Trieste; he died in obscurity at Montpellier, May 12, 1865. And so the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, the knights of Cyprus, Rhodes and Malta, finished a career of about seven hundred years.

\* The arms of Hompesch were gules, a saltire in St. Andrew, in silver, its edges serrated, or formed like dented argent. On a field of red a saltire or cross of the teeth of a saw.



The dethroned Grand Master Hompesch before his death appointed the Emperor Paul of Russia, Imperial Protector of the Order, and sent him the cross once worn by Grand Master La Vallette. Oct. 27, 1798, Paul assembled the Russian knights and such other members of the Order as were in St. Petersburg, and had himself elected Grand Master, but this act is not recognized by most of the historians of the Order, though St. Allais names him and a few of his nominal successors.

When Napoleon left Malta for Egypt he placed General Vaubois, a gallant and accomplished soldier, in command. The place was then invested by the British fleet, and after two years of steady and gallant defence was forced to surrender September 7, 1800, for want of food. During the siege of two years, Vaubois took the precious metals of the pawnbrokers, struck it into ingots, stamping the value upon each and used it for currency. This is what is styled "siege money," of which many varieties are found in numismatic collections. The two engravings given illustrate it.

The first piece, (Plate VI, Fig. 5,) is of gold. The marks may be thus read: "No. 26 of the series of gold ingots. Value in Maltese scudi 17, 3 taris, 5 grains." The Moneyer's check-mark is "I." The lion rampant suggests the courage of the defenders. The value of the piece is about \$8.52.

The second piece is of silver. (See Plate VI, Fig. 6.) Of the silver ingots struck by General Vaubois it is No. 18. Its value in Maltese scudi is 3, 5 taris, 18 grains. The check-mark is "L." The value \$1.88 nearly.

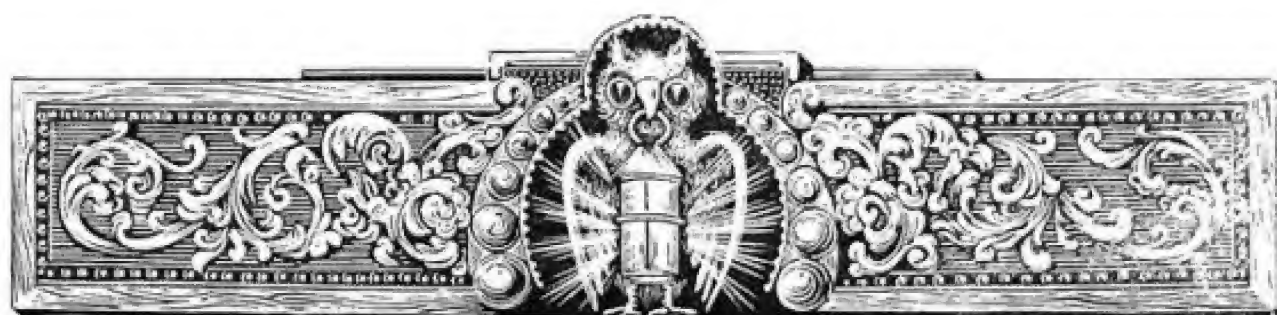
I have thus given the reader a series of *genuine monuments* to set up along this road of knightly history. They extend over a period of nearly five centuries. They are the money by which the food was purchased, the hired forces paid, the ammunition bought, the clothing, medicines, arms and armor secured, shipping built and manned, horses bought and equipped, cannon cast, charity utilized, religious services supported, and a bulwark maintained against the Turks. Scanning one of these pieces, the history of dead ages seems to glide before us. It was this money for which the pirates of the Mediterranean fought and plundered and burnt, and stained that

beautiful sea with blood. This money, by thousands of pieces, lies among ruined cities, in plowed fields, at fountain-heads, in caves, in vaults, and in cemeteries. Every day it is coming to light. The washing rains expose it, the spade and plow turn it up, the earthquakes bring it to the surface. Sometimes deposits in earthen jars are found where the hand of fear buried them. Oftener it is discovered in detached specimens. But whenever and wherever a coin of a Grand Master of St. John comes to the light of day, it tells in language of indisputable truth of the honor and glory and fame of the noblest Order of Knighthood the earth has ever seen.

“ A glorious company, the flower of men,  
The goodliest fellowship of famous knights  
Whereof this world hath record.”

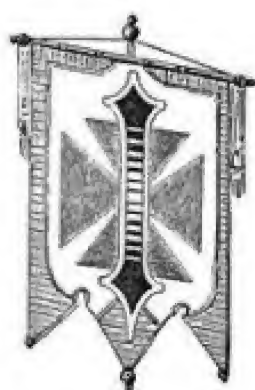






## MONEY OF THE CRUSADERS.

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IN his work upon the Numismatics of the Crusades, (*Numismatique des Croisades*, Paris, 1847,) that eminent purveyor of numismatic knowledge upon the history of the Middle Ages, F. De Saulcy, whose recent death all lovers of this delightful science must regret, divides the subject into two parts, viz:—I. The moneys of the Kings of Jerusalem; the Princes of Antioch and of Galilee; the Counts of Edessa and of Tripoli; the Kings of Cyprus, and the Sires of Marash, of Sidon and of Beirut. These begin with the conquest of Jerusalem, A. D. 1099, and were struck in Asia. II. The moneys of the Latin Emperors of Constantinople, of the Princes of Achaia, the Dukes of Athens, the Despots of Roumania and of Thessaly, and the Sires of Corfu, of Cephalonia and of Ithaca. These are reckoned from the capture of Constantinople by the Latins to the beginning of the thirteenth century. He omits from these classifications the **coins** of the Knights of St. John,—Hospitallers,—Rhodes and Malta, as they are indiscriminately termed, examples of which have already been described in the preceding pages.

In my various foreign tours and in my correspondence with collectors in the Orient, I have come into possession at different times, of numerous **coins**,



silver and copper, bearing for the most part a cross patee on the obverse, the metal thin, poorly struck, the epigraphs in letters apparently neither Greek nor Latin. For some years I paid but little attention to these coins, as my leisure time was taken up with series of specimens more attractive. Upon closer examination, however, and by the aid of De Saulcy, Friedlaender, and others, I find many of these pieces appertain to the period of the Crusades, and therefore particularly worthy of study by that class of historical students with whom, for well nigh forty years, I have had so much to do, viz: the *Masonic Knights Templar*. For this reason, I propose, in closing these notes on the Templar coins, to mention briefly a few specimens of this class, which have fallen under my observation. I commence with the coins of the Latin Princes who were established in Syria following the first Crusade (1096-1099).

"The powerful appeal of Pope Urban II, shook the West. God, by his voice, demanded that His faithful servants should deliver the Sacred City and the Holy Sepulchre. At the call of the Sovereign Pontiff, an innumerable people responded by the cry, *Dieu le veut*, 'It is the will of God.' This cry extended to the limits of the Christian world, and truly it appeared as though Europe was about to precipitate herself upon Asia." (*Numismatique des Croisades*, p. 1.)

The oldest of the coins connected with the Crusades commemorates the occupation of Antioch by the Christian powers under Bohemond I, (otherwise Marcus Bohemond,) from June, 1098, to February, 1111. These coins are scarce, but they rise from their long entombment to teach with unabraded letters and devices the history impressed on them so long ago. On the obverse of the oldest is the face of St. Peter, tutelary saint of Antioch. His right hand forms with certain fingers the *sign of blessing*, in his left is a long cross. In the field are traces of the name in Greek letters *ΠΕΤΡΟΣ*. On the reverse we see the pommel-cross, and at the foot a *fleuron* or flowery device of a prince of the name of Bohemond. In the cantons of this cross we read the four letters, B. H. H. T.; the first I take to be the initial of the name *Baimoundos*. This coin was struck it is thought about the year 1103 or 4, after the return of Bohemond from his captivity.



The second coin in my series was struck by the celebrated Tancred, Regent of Antioch, during the absence of Bohemond above named. It has the same figure of St. Peter, blessing with his right hand and sustaining a long cross with his left. The inscription is in Greek letters, *Θ ΗΤΟC*, the rho being omitted and the sigma on all these *coins* having the old form like the Roman C. Upon the reverse we see at the top and bottom equal crosses. In four lines are the letters following:—

*KE BOH  
ΘH TO ΔΟΥ  
ΛΟ CΟΥΤ  
ΑΝΚΡΙ*

which for inaccuracy, grammatical, and orthographic, cannot be excelled.

If this is the reader's first experience in reading *coins* of the dark ages, he may well wipe his glasses and bless the memory of those who have made an open road for him through these hieroglyphics. This is the way to fill in the gaps, and make sense of that sentence: *Κύριε Βοηθεῖ Τῷ Δούλῳ Σῷ Τάνκρινδ* or in English, "Lord, aid Thy servant Tancred." The form of this invocation is Byzantine, and its employment upon the money of cotemporary emperors is common enough; but to a person inexperienced in those dark-age moneys it is blind indeed.

Four *coins* next come together, all copper. They have the bust of Tancred, but in the poorest style of art, making his face frightfully severe. The beard is parted in two points; his moustaches are long and drooping, his eyes are like lobsters, and he wears a turban. Above him is a cross made by four pellets; these are supposed by some to refer to the wafer used in the Roman Church, in the sacrifice of the Mass. In his right hand is a short, pointed sword or dagger. He wears an oriental robe. Parts of the same inscriptions as above are seen on each obverse, while on the reverse is a cross cantoned with the letters *IC XC* (well known abbreviations for *IHCΟΥC ΧΡΙCΤΟC*), *NIKA* (for *Νικάτωρ*), *Jesus Christ, the Conqueror!* Three other



coins have portraits of Jesus instead of Tancred, but with the name *TAN-KPIDI* appearing in whole or part upon one face of the coin.

We have next some copper coins of Bohemond II, A. D. 1126 to 1131. The bust is that of St. Peter as before, but there is no inscription. On the reverse is a prominent cross with nine letters cantoned, viz: *BA IM ON DOV* for *Baimoundou*.

The coins of Tancred proper, and of his successor, Count Roger, refer to his own principality of Galilee, of which Tiberias was the capital. They present the Saviour as erect and facing, His head surrounded by a nimbus, and leaning back upon the cross. His right hand is in the attitude of benediction. The letters *IC XC* are opposite His shoulders. On the reverse is a pommel-cross in which are cantoned these letters, *DNE-SAL-FT-RO* abbreviations for the Latin words *Domine Salve Famulum Tuum Rogerium* "Oh Lord, save Thy servant Roger (Rogerius)." Others show St. Peter blessing and holding the cross as before, and the letters *S. PE.* for St. Peter, with the four letters cantoned on the reverse, *D S F T* which may mean *Domine Salve Famulum Tuum* (Oh Lord, save Thy servant,) or perhaps *Domine Salvum Fac Tancredum* "Lord, save Tancred."

Other coins of Roger, who governed Galilee from the death of Tancred in 1112 to 1119, have the figure of Mary, the mother of Jesus, erect, and facing, wearing a cloak highly ornamented with gems, her head haloed, the Greek letters on each side: *MH ΘΥ* "the Mother of God" (*Μήτηρ Θεού*). On the reverse, in four lines, are most confusing letters in Greek, which we have no type to represent. What experience, what skill, what comparison of specimens it demanded to unravel them! But here is the inscription: *KEBOH ΘHTOSO DOI'LOPO TSEPTO* which we read thus, *Κύριε Βοηθεῖ Τῷ Σῷ Δούλῳ Ροσσέρῳ* or in English, "Lord, help Thy servant Roger!" When we compare this barbarous union of metal, misspelling, and engravers' art with the noble coins produced at Antioch for so many centuries prior to this time, we can better appreciate the application of the term "Dark Ages."

Continuing these coins of Roger, we find the device of St. George slaying the dragon, with abbreviations for *Θ ΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ* "the Holy



George" (or St. George). The saint's head is naked and haloed. He is armed with a coat of mail, and with a lance is striking a dragon that is biting his horse's feet. The whole work is as coarse as a child's chalk drawing on a fence. The legend on the reverse is indistinct in some letters, but is apparently: *ROTZER PRIGKP OC ANT IOX* that is, *Ροτζερίκος Πριγκίπης Ἀντιοχείας*, meaning "Roger, Prince of Antioch." The word *Prigkipios*, if that can be the correct reading of the mingled Greek and Latin letters, is used for *Princeps*.

The **coins** of Raymond, the first husband of Queen Constance, 1136 to 1149, have his bust suitably clothed, and the letters *R. P.* (Raymundus Princeps,) for "Prince Raymond." On the reverse is the bust of St. Peter, with *S. P.* Each of these four letters has a dash over it, denoting its use as an abbreviation.

The money of Bohemond III of Antioch, is an immense improvement in appearance over the preceding. The inscription *BHMVNDVS* for "Bohemund" is contained within two circles of dots (*grenetis*). Instead of an open bust, we find a figure over which the helmet is drawn down to the nose, and a cross in place of the face. The moon appears in front and a star behind. Upon the reverse is a cross, with a moon in the first canton, and the legend within two dotted lines, *ANTIOCHIA*. The metal is the white mixture called billon. A few other **coins** of Antioch, which are distinguished by the name of the city, present variations as follows: the *fleur-de-lis* as on the florin of Florence; an edifice surmounted by a tower; the word *PRINCEPS* in reversed letters, etc.

We come next to the moneys of the Counts of Edessa. These were four in number, viz: Baldwin (Baudowin) I, 1097 to 1100; Baldwin II, 1100 to 1118; Joscelin the Elder, 1118 to 1131; and Joscelin the Younger, 1131 to 1134. It is to the first two that the following **coins** are attributed. Some of these show more taste and skill on the design than those just mentioned, but being large copper pieces, the size of the old American cent, they are much worn and hard to read. Some have the bust of Jesus, with a halo, and the usual letters *IC XC*. On the reverse a pommel-cross with the four



letters cantoned, B. L. D. N. for "Baldwin." Upon others stands a figure in military costume, holding a cross in the right hand, his left resting upon a buckler. In some we have COMES BALDAINOS "Count Baldwin." These probably refer to the first Count of that name. Those of Baldwin II are in better preservation. A warrior erect, helmeted, in a full coat of mail, a sword in his left hand, a cross in the right. Inscription, BAGDOIN CAVC. The reverse has a flowery cross (*fleuronnée*), surmounted in the centre by a little cross. On others the warrior holds a sword in his right hand, while on others still, he is mounted on a war-horse and a star precedes him. A coin of this period has RIKARDO for "Richard." This was probably the Governor of Marash, 1111.

The coins of the Counts of Tripoli come next. There were ten of these, whose rule extended from 1109 to 1287. It was Count Raymond II who was said to have betrayed the Christian cause on the lamentable field of Hattin, July, 1187. These coins are neatly executed and in good preservation. None of them present portraits. Those of Raymond I have upon both faces an equal cross (*patée*). RAIMVNDI COMITIS "Count Raymond" is upon the obverse, and MONETA TRIPOLIS "the coinage of Tripoli" on the reverse. Those of Raymond II have CIVITAS TRIPOLI "the City of Tripoli" on the reverse. Some of the ornamentation is extremely beautiful, showing that in that "City by the Sea" were good artists. A crenelated tower marks the reverse of others. Of Raymond VI (1251-1274) there are large and elegant silver coins, with BOHEMVNDVS COMES upon the front and C·I·V·I·T·A·S T·R·I·P·O·L·I on the reverse. Coins of the last Bohemond, the Seventh, (1274-1287) read SEPTIMVS BOEMVNDVS COMES "the Seventh Count Bohemund." The reverse has an edifice of three towers, and the legend CIVITAS TRIPOLIS SVRIE "the City of Tripoli in Syria."

The Seignors of Sidon also struck coins, of which, however, few specimens have thus far been recovered. Some in billon have RENALDVS on the obverse, surrounding a crenelated tower, and on the reverse SIDONIA surrounding a lance-head turned to the left. This Renald is probably the one who escaped July, 1187, from the battle of Hattin.



The **coins** of Cyprus are numerous, and exist in gold, silver, copper, and lead. While these are full of interest and worthy of study, their connection with the Crusaders as such is more remote, and I will not enter upon any description, but conclude with the briefest reference to the moneys of the Christian Kings of Jerusalem. How shall we account for it that these are so scarce, and represent so few of the sovereigns who occupied the throne of Jerusalem from A. D. 1099 to 1187? The Sacred City, that had cost so much life and treasure to win, how its **coins** must have been sought after! Every pilgrim returning westward must have carried with him specimens of a coinage that suggested the most affecting thoughts; yet few of the numerous series of **coins** struck in the last two thousand years are so scarce. Money of Alexander the Great, of Herod, of the Roman governors of Jerusalem, of Simon Maccabeus, of his successors, and of almost every name that has figured in the history of Palestine, are comparatively abundant, and have been thoroughly described to take their places amongst the monumental evidences of history, but of the Kings of Jerusalem the science of Numismatics says but little. Here is a list of the rulers, and we mark with a star those whose **coins** have come down to the present age:—

Godfrey de Bouillon,	. . . . .	July 1099 to July 1100.
Baldwin I,	. . . . .	Dec. 1100 to March 1118.
Baldwin II,	. . . . .	1118 to Aug. 1131.
Fulks,	. . . . .	Sept. 1131 to Nov. 1144.
Baldwin III,	. . . . .	Dec. 1144 to Feb. 1162.
Amaurus I,	. . . . .	Feb. 1162 to July 1173.
Baldwin IV,*	. . . . .	July 1173 to March 1185.
Baldwin V,	. . . . .	March 1185 to Sept. 1185.
Guy de Lusignan,*	. . . . .	Sept. 1186, 1192.

The **coins** of Baldwin IV or V (it is not clear which) have BAVINVS REX on the obverse, between two dotted circles, and in the centre an equal cross (*patée*). The reverse shows a crenelated tower in the centre, and the legend DE IERUSALEM between two dotted circles.



**Coins** of King Guy have his likeness on the obverse, facing the observer, and crowned with a diadem elaborately adorned. The inscription between two dotted circles is REX GVIDO D. The reverse presents a domed edifice, believed by De Vogue to be the Holy Sepulchre. Legend, E IERUSALEM.

Besides these rare and valued relics of the Jerusalem kingdom, we find a small coin in billon, having on the obverse a fortress, with the epigraph TVRRIS; on the reverse an eight-pointed star with DAVID. It is not easy to trace the authorship of this coin. The eminent numismatist Cousinery, describing this specimen says, "After considering the religious ideas which we discern in the composition of the legends of this epoch, there is no doubt that the two words inscribed upon this coin present an invocation." We apply to it what we see upon an Italian coin whereon a tower is represented with this legend, *Esto mihi turris fortitudinis*, "Be thou a tower of strength to me!" In the Litany styled *Turris Davidica*, the Virgin is addressed under this idea of "the tower of strength." Cousinery therefore attributes this coin to Godfrey, first king of Jerusalem, who would thus invoke the Mother of Jesus to obtain for him the favor of her Divine Son by her intercession. This tower is placed, according to tradition, upon the foundation of the House of David, and makes a part of the citadel of Jerusalem. The gate of the city nearest this tower, was called the Gate of David. The star of eight points seen upon this coin is said to be a symbolical representation of the light of faith which extended itself upon the East by the Divine aid, suggested by this holy tower. De Saulcy, on the contrary, conceives it to be "siege money," struck by the Governor of Jerusalem, during the siege of Jerusalem, which followed upon the disastrous battle of Hattin, already mentioned, and thus not so old by a century.





# CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

OF THE

# GRAND MASTERS.



THE more prominent events in the time of the Grand Masters, whose coinage has been described on the preceding pages, have been mentioned under their various names. The following list includes all who directed the energies of this remarkable institution from its foundation to its extinction as an independent power. It was thought that a brief allusion to the events in their administration not elsewhere mentioned in this volume would increase its value, and give a better understanding of the varying conditions of the Order under its different rulers.

The list is based upon that given by St. Allais. Where Vertot differs from him, I have mentioned it. As St. Allais' work is so much later than Vertot's, it seems more likely to be correct, though occasionally I have found him wrong where he differs. The dates are entirely those given by St. Allais. The place of residence of the various Grand Masters, or the seat of the Order, from time to time, precedes the names.

Before proceeding to give this list, I desire here to make one remark in reference to the statement in the beginning of Dr. Morris's descriptions, that the Teutonic Knights struck no **coins**. This is doubtless true so far as their stay in Palestine is concerned, but after they fixed their residence in Prussia, they did strike money, the



first Prussian silver pennies being there coined by the Teutonic Order at Culm, and the series struck by their Grand Masters, while brief compared with the coins of the Order of St. John, is very interesting. They are rarely seen in America, but a few of our collectors have gathered them, mostly by purchases from foreign dealers.

### GRAND MASTERS.

- |  |          |  |           |
|--|----------|--|-----------|
| Jerusalem.   |          | 11. Godefroi de Duisson,   | 1191-1201 |
| 1. Gerard Tunc, founder,   | ?1113-20 | 12. Alphonse de Portugal,  | 1201-4    |
| 2. Raymond du Puy,   | 1118-58  | His zeal in reforming abuses made him so unpopular that he was obliged to resign in 1204; he died in 1245.   |           |
| The date of the death of Gerard, and the accession of Raymond are somewhat uncertain. Pope Innocent II, in 1130, gave this Grand Master the banner and arms under which the Order ever after fought—a white cross on a field of red. He called himself “the humble servant of Christ's poor, and guardian of the Hospital at Jerusalem.” |          | 13. Geoffroy le Rath,  | 1204-7    |
| 3. Auger de Balben,  | 1158-61  | During his Grand-Mastership the Templars and Hospitallers were reconciled.   |           |
| 4. Arnold de Comps,  | 1161-66  | 14. Guerin de Montagu,   | 1208-30   |
| The existence of this Grand Master is denied by some authorities; others say he was a native of Provence and give his term of office as six years, as we have done.  |          | 15. Bertrand de Taxis,   | 1230-31   |
| 5. Gilbert D'Assalit,  | 1167-69  | 16. Guerin,  | 1231-36   |
| Resigned. He is said by some to be the first who held the title of <i>Grand Master</i> .   |          | St. Allais disputes several of Vertot's statements concerning this Grand Master, but we have not sought to discuss them.   |           |
| 6. De Gaste,   | 1169-70  | Jerusalem.   |           |
| 7. Joubert,  | 1170-77  | 17. Bertrand de Comps,   | 1236-41   |
| The dates of accession of this and the previous Grand Master are uncertain. The closing date is that of their death.   |          | He recovered Jerusalem and restored the Order to its ancient seat for a short period.  |           |
| 8. Roger des Moulins,  | 1179-87  | 18. Pierre de Villebride,  | 1241-44   |
| 9. Garnier, de Syrie,  | 1187     | A most disastrous period in the history of the Order. Jerusalem was again lost by the Christians, and the Grand Master killed with most of his Knights in the battle of Gaza.                                    |           |
| Acre.  |          | Acre.  |           |
| 10. Ermengard d'Aps,   | 1187-91  | 19. Guillaume de Chateauneuf,  | 1244-59   |
| During his term the Order were driven from Jerusalem; for a short time they remained at Margat, and then established themselves at St. Jean d'Acre.  |          | The quarrels with the Templars renewed. The Order again returned to Acre. During his term Pope Alexander IV made some regulations concerning the uniform of members of the Order, a few months before his death. |           |



20. Hugues de Revel, 1259-78

Vertot thinks he was the first to be called Commander, and to use the name Commandery—but St. Allais says that usage is older than his time.

21. Nicolas Lorgue, 1278-89

22. Jean de Villiers, 1289-97

During his term the Hospitallers and Templars were obliged to retire to Cyprus.

#### Limisso.

23. Odon de Pins, 1297-1300

24. Guillaume de Villaret, 1300-6

The Knights made some futile efforts to recover Jerusalem and once succeeded in entering it in triumph, but lost it almost immediately.

#### Rhodes.

25. Foulques de Villaret, 1307-19

The Order of the Temple was extinguished and its possessions and many of its Knights united with those of St. John during this period.

26. Helion de Villeneuve, 1319-46

A Chapter General of the Order, held at Montpellier divided it into Langues in his administration.

27. Dieu-Donne de Gozon, 1346-53

Before his elevation to the Grand-Mastership, and while only a Knight, he is said to have slain an enormous dragon which was ravaging the Isle of Rhodes.

28. Pierre de Corneillan, 1354-55

He was in office only eighteen months, and was engaged in contests with Innocent VI, who wished to have the Knights establish themselves in Anatolia or again in Palestine, to arrest the progress of the Turks, who were threatening Italy.

29. Roger de Pins, 1355-65

A zealous chieftain, and so charitable as to be called by the poor of the Island, by whom he was much beloved, the Almoner. In his term many abuses were reformed. He consented to establish

the Order in the Morea, at the continued pressure of Innocent; but the death of that Pontiff ended the project.

30. Raymond de Berenger, 1365-74

His fleet captured and pillaged Alexandria, but did not attempt to hold the city. In his term the first collection of the Statutes of the Order was made.

31. Robert de Juilliac, 1374-76

32. Jean Fernandes de Heredin, 1376-96

This name is sometimes spelled Heredia. He declared himself in favor of Clement VII, and was deposed by his rival, Urban VI, in 1381, who appointed Richard Caraccioli in his place; the latter died in 1395, having only been recognized by the Langues of Italy and England. Vertot mentions also H. C. d'Emporta as a rival claimant to the position of Grand Master from 1377 to 1383. St. Allais ignores this claim.

33. Philibert de Naillac, 1396-1421

He was recognized by both parties in the Order, who had been divided by the schism in the Roman Church, as the sole and legitimate Grand Master. St. Allais places the loss of Smyrna in his time (1401). He was able to maintain six Knights at Jerusalem, to watch over the interests of those Christian pilgrims who still resorted to the Sepulchre.

34. Antoine Fluvian, 1421-37

35. Jean Bonpar de Lastic, 1437-54

The Order was in the zenith of its glory in the times of these two Grand Masters.

36. Jacques de Milly, 1454-61

In his day there were serious disputes among the Knights, who felt that the French were claiming all its most honorable posts; by his moderation and wisdom he preserved peace and reestablished good feeling.

37. Pierre Raymond Zacosta, 1461-67

The Spanish Langue was divided during his administration into two, thereby increasing their



power in the Order. In 1462 he assumed the title of Most Excellent. During the session of a Chapter General many new disputes agitated the Order, and he was summoned to Rome, where Pope Paul II had assembled a Chapter General to consider charges against him. He established his innocence most triumphantly, but died on the eve of his return to Rhodes.

38. Jean Baptiste des Ursins, 1467-76

He had been Grand Prior of Rome and was quite old and infirm when elected. The Turks attacked the Island, but were repulsed, early in his administration.

39. Pierre d'Aubusson, 1476-1503

He had been the principal adviser of des Ursins, and was a skillful soldier. The events attending his election and administration have been mentioned in the text. He was styled for his gallant defence and his personal bravery, "the Buckler of the Church, and the Liberator of Christianity."

40. Emery d'Amboise, 1503-12

This Grand Master was of French descent, and from his intimate relations with the Roman Court, his brother being a Cardinal, and his influence in the Order, he received many honors from Louis XII. He was presented with a priceless relic, in the estimation of the times—a piece of the true cross, and also of the sword borne by St. Louis in the Crusades. He repeatedly defeated the Infidels, and thus he received large sums from those he relieved and protected, but turned them all into the Treasury of the Order. "He died poor," says St. Allais, "leaving nothing but his island. This is the best eulogy the historian can give a Christian prince."

41. Guy de Blanchefort, 1513

42. Fabrice de Caretto, 1513-21

The most prominent events of his administration have been given in the text.

43. Philippe de Villiers L'Isle Adam, 1521-34

One of the most illustrious defenders of Rhodes, and though forced to evacuate the Island by the

treachery of one of his own officers, he has left a reputation for bravery and skill inferior to none of those who preceded or followed him. He was the first to occupy Malta.

#### Malta.

44. Pierre de Pont, 1534-35

The first Grand Master elected after the occupation of Malta. His fleet won some successes on the coast of Tripoli.

45. Didier de Tholon de Sainte-Jaille, 1535-6

He had been Grand Prior of Toulouse, and had distinguished himself under L'Isle Adam, but his age and infirmity prevented his assuming the office, and he died before reaching Malta.

46. Jean D'Omedez, 1536-53

While he had distinguished himself at Rhodes by his valor, he was too subservient to the plans of Charles V, and was not a favorite with the members of the Order, though he was successful in his maritime warfare. Vassallo says he was ambitious, avaricious and cruel, and "the convent and people received the news of his death with most edifying resignation."

47. Claude de la Sengle, 1553-57

His combats, like those of his predecessor, were principally marine, and he obtained some victories over Dragut, a corsair who was one of the bitterest foes of the Christian Knights.

48. Jean de la Vallette-Parisot, 1557-68

The brave defender of the Island of Malta against an almost overwhelming force of the Turks. His success in holding the fortresses in the hardest siege the Order sustained at any time during its occupation of Malta, when 25,000 Turks were slain before they desisted from the attack, has preserved his memory as one of the most distinguished of the later Grand Masters. He built the city which received his name.

49. Pierre de Monte, 1568-72

During his administration the vessels of the Order rendered valuable aid towards gaining the great



naval victory of Lepanto, which virtually destroyed the Turkish power at sea, and was "one of the most fearful, sanguinary and obstinate battles ever recorded in the pages of history."

50. Jean l'Evesque de la Cassiere, 1572-82

Dissensions in the Order threatened the stability of his administration, but the strong support of powerful princes, especially Henry III, of France, enabled him to maintain himself in power, though for a short period he was a prisoner in St. Angelo.

51. Hugues de Loubens de Verdalle, 1582-95

During his term of office a famine followed by pestilence caused the death of large numbers of the people of the Island. To gain the favor of Henry III, the Pope had required the Order to choose their Grand Master from one of three French Knights, whom he had named, and to add to his authority and influence had made him a Cardinal, but the discontent and murmurs of the Order were ceaseless, and the Grand Master died of mortification. In his time occurred the bitter quarrels between the Church authorities of Malta.

52. Martin Garzes, 1595-1601

He assisted the King of Hungary against the Turks, and beside his successes in the field, his politic, prudent and discreet administration restored harmony to the Order, but he was often in trouble with the Inquisitor and the Pope.

53. Alofio de Wignacourt, 1601-22

He added new fortifications and otherwise strengthened the defences of Malta. It has been said that Vallette furnished the body to the city, but Wignacourt gave it life. His administration was perhaps the most successful of any Grand Master in the Island of Malta. His defence of the privileges of the Order, and his numerous maritime victories, made him very popular with the Knights. His name, as well as his nephew's, (62) is frequently spelled Wignacourt.

54. Louis Mendes de Vasconcellos, 1622-23

He had been a successful warrior and an able politician, but he had been in office only a few

months, when he died at the age of eighty. He quarreled with Bishop Gargallo's successor, who succeeded in building his palace in Valletta, contrary to the wishes of Vasconcellos, and his successors have resided in it ever since.

55. Antoine de Paule, 1623-36

His fleet obtained some successes, but his administration had little of interest to distinguish it.

56. Jean Lascaris-Castellar, 1636-57

His maritime victories over the Turks so enraged them, that they prepared to attack the Island, but Louis, Vicomte d'Arpajon, sent the Order large reinforcements of men, vessels and money, and the threats ceased. For this service the Grand Master gave him the privilege of placing his arms upon the cross of the order. When the family became extinct in the male line, more than a century later, the honor was continued by bestowing upon it the Comte de Noailles, Marshal of France, who married one of his descendants in the female line. To this family belonged the French officer of the name who distinguished himself in our Revolutionary war. Grand Master Lascaris died when only sixty-seven, according to St. Allais, but this is doubtless an error, as Seddall says he lived to the advanced age given in the text. He was the first Grand Master who had trouble with the Jesuits, and expelled them from the Island. He was perhaps the most detested by the Maltese of any of their rulers.

57. Martin de Redin, 1657-60

He began to enlarge and improve the fortifications of Malta, but died without completing his plans. A Knight of high personal character, his death was greatly regretted.

58. Annet de Clermont Chatte-Gessans, 1660

His administration of but three months was too brief to have left any event of historic interest. He had seen much service, and was a brave and gallant soldier.

59. Raphael Cotoner, 1660-63

The war which had been raging between Turkey and Venice for twenty-five years, led to renewed



efforts to strengthen the Island, but the Order found in its vessels of war and its triumphs on the sea, a sufficient protection against all danger. His administration was uneventful.

60. Nicolas Cotoner, 1663-80

Brother of the preceding. In his time the Order met several reverses at sea, and the Turks succeeded in gaining Candia. This led to still further labor on the works at Malta. A pestilence, followed by famine, was very destructive in the closing months of his administration, in six months carrying off more than eleven thousand victims, and caused his own death. He was impatient of advice, and though "flattered, was not beloved by his brethren."

61. Gregory Carafe, 1680-1690

His fleet gained a brilliant victory over the Algerine corsairs, but some years later was repulsed with its allies at Negropont, which caused him so much chagrin, that he shortly after died. He was an amiable and urbane ruler, and though he was accused by some of partiality and favoritism, he was popular with the people.

62. Adrian de Wignacourt, 1690-97

A nephew of Alof. He built a magnificent arsenal and shipyard, and his galleys took part with those of Venice in various attacks on the Turks, but without much success. He added also new fortifications on Gozo.

63. Raymond Perellos, 1697-1720

Like his predecessors, his efforts to break down the power of the Infidel were mostly maritime, and his victories attracted many distinguished soldiers to his Court.

64. Marc-Antoine Zondadari, 1720-22

The contests with the corsairs and the Turks continued on the sea, but they were of less importance than for many years previous. He was fond of literary pursuits, and Seddall says had his reign been longer, it would have probably been distinguished in the annals of the Order.

65. Antoine Manoel de Vilhena, 1722-36

His administration received some distinction from the victories of the ships of the Order on the African coast, but aside from the events mentioned in the text, presents little else of interest. His principal successes as a soldier had been won before his elevation to the Grand-Mastership. During his administration, a Turkish fleet appeared for the last time with hostile intent before the fortresses of Malta, but departed on learning of the failure of a plot to excite a servile insurrection, which had been discovered by the Grand Master. He was honored by the Pope with the gift of the "estoc."

66. Raymond d'Espuig de Montanegre, 1736-41

We can add nothing to what is said on page 43 concerning this Grand Master.

67. Emmanuel Pinto de Fonseca, 1741-73

He was a man of more liberal views in many respects than any of his predecessors. In his time the Protestant Knights of Prussia were reunited to the Order, and he was largely interested in promoting various internal improvements on the Island. Most of the other leading events of his administration are mentioned in the text.

68. Francois Ximenes de Texada, 1773-75

Previous to his election he had been Grand Prior of the Order, and was very popular with the people, to which his elevation to the Grand-Mastership was due. His conduct afterwards forfeited their regard, and led to what at one time threatened to be a serious revolution—known in Maltese history as the rebellion of the Priests.

69. Francois Marie des Neiges Emmanuel de Rohan-Polduc, 1775-97

His administration is still remembered as one of the most beneficent of the Grand Masters. The Maltese were admitted for the first time to a share in the deliberations of the General Council of the Order. His independent position towards the claims of the Roman Pontiff was a surprise to the



supporters of the Church, but he steadily resisted every attempt at dictation from Rome. The events of the French Revolution hastened the downfall of the Order, which he foresaw was unlikely long to survive him.

70. Ferdinand de Hompesch, 1797-98

A favorite with the people, his election was hailed with rejoicings; but his feebleness and infatuation

over his fancied security prevented his seeing the dangers to which he was exposed, and when the French seized the island he was bewildered and paralyzed with fear; he surrendered the most noble fortress of Europe, his power and his home, without a struggle. With him the ancient glories of the Order faded, and those who subsequently bore the name of Grand Masters had no sympathy with the ancient traditions of the Knights of St. John.

As was stated in the Historical Sketch of the Order, at the beginning of this volume, the existence of the Knights of St. John ceased, as an independent power, with the surrender of the island by Hompesch. The Emperor Paul the First, of Russia, took the Order under his protection; he is reckoned as the legitimate successor of Hompesch, by those who would carry the line forward, and it was hoped by its friends that his powerful influence would succeed in restoring Malta to the Order; but his assassination on the 25th March, 1801, relieved the English (who conquered the Island the previous September, and who had been his allies against Napoleon,) from the delicate questions which would have been involved in refusing to place the control of so strong a fortress in the hands of their most powerful rival; and the Island remains in English possession to this day. The connection of the Russian branch of the Order with Rome was from the first almost entirely a nominal one; and Alexander, the son and successor of Paul, declined to assume the place which that Emperor had hoped to render a permanent honor of the Russian Imperial Crown.

Pius VII, in his capacity of Supreme head of the Order, then named Barthelemy Ruspoli, a Roman Prince, as Grand Master, but he declined the honor. Caraccioli di San Eremo was then made Deputy Grand Master, and Feb. 9, 1802, Jean de Thommasi of Crotona was appointed Grand Master by the Pontiff, and removed the seat of the Order to Catania in Sicily. Mortified by his failure to persuade the British Government to recognize his authority, he died June 13, 1805, and St. Allais considers him the last Grand Master. He was succeeded by officers who were called Lieutenants of the Master or Deputy Masters. Of these, Innico Marie Guevara Suardo was the first, from 1805 to 1814, dying April 25 of the latter year; Andria de Giovanni y Centelles, the second, succeeded the following day, and his election was confirmed in June: he died June 10, 1821; in the same month Antoine Busca was elected, and confirmed by the Pope. In May, 1827, he removed the seat of the Order to Ferrara,

and in 1831 to Rome, where he died in 1834. Charles Candida was his successor, and in his time a considerable portion of its previous possessions in Italy were restored to the Order. With this official we leave the matter, for the Order, as has been seen, had been gradually changed from a military to a religious one; and by the regulations of Pius IX, who, in July, 1854, altered its statutes materially, it ceased to have any further interest to those who loved to recall the golden days of its vanished past, and who, as they contemplated its present bondage, could only remember the Arabian proverb, "the remembrance of youth is a sigh."







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